THE ORIGINAL OF ALL PLOTS IN Chriſtendom; WITH THE Danger and Remedy OF SCHISM

By *WILLIAM SAYWELL*, D. D. Maſter of *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*.

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London, Printed for *ROBERT SCOT* in *Little Britain*, and *RICHARD CHISWELL* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*. MDCLXXX.

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To all True Engliſhmen, *that heartily mind the Salvation of their Souls, and the Peace of their Countrey.*

THE State of *Chriſtendom* in general is Deplorable upon many accounts; but nothing makes it more Lamentable than the Bloody Zeal of the two Potent Factions, which endeavour by Force and Violence to deſtroy all thoſe that differ from, or croſs their Deſigns; that is, the Furious *Papiſt*, and Cruel *Fanatick*. And how much this Kingdom in particular has ſuffered from them both, is known to every man of common Underſtanding amongſt us: Therefore conſider your own

Danger, and former Sufferings; and grow so wise as not to run the same Hazard again, or trust they will prove more kind than they have been heretofore; assure your selves, if Experience has not taught you to use all means to avoid their Cruelty, it has taught them how more effectually to work your Destruction. All the Repentance that ever I heard they have shewn, is, only that they did not more throughly root out their Adversaries, when they had the Power in their hands; and that is all we must look for, if ever they prevail again.

We have but two things to regard in this World, the Welfare of our Bodies, and the Salvation of our Souls, and both will be endangered, if we give way to either Faction. The horrour of Queen *Maries* dayes, the Massacre

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in *France*, and the Rebellion in *Ireland* are not yet blotted out of your Minds; neither have you forgot the lamentable Miseries and Destructions of the late Wars, and Disturbance made under pretence of Reformation. Truth and Religion are but the gilded Baits to delude you; 'tis your Estates, your Liberties, Lives and Fortunes they thirst after, that seek to promote these Alterations. But the Liberty they will promise you will end in Slavery, the Wealth in Beggary, and the Happiness in Confusion. While the Laws, and the Establish'd Religion did flourish, you did live in Peace and Plenty, but when these were taken away, you felt nothing but Misery and Desolation; the same and worse must be the Consequents, if such a Change should be brought to pass again amongst us.

Neither will the Salvation of your Souls be in less danger, if either Faction prevail so as to subvert our Religion and Government. For the Case is otherwise in our Nation (where there is such full Evidence and Demonstration of the Truth, settled upon the Fundamental Constitutions of the Kingdom) than it is with others that are seduced in Foreign Countreys, and have not means and opportunity to receive better Information, but go on passively, following erroneous Teachers. I will not now pronounce how far they are guilty; but I am sure those that will go about to establish either of these Factions, or a Legal Toleration of them amongst us, will destroy the Fundamental Government of the Nation, * which does shut out the Tyranny of the Pope, and the Usurpation of the Pres-

* Statute of Provisors, 25 *Ed.* 3. The Church of *England* was founded in the Estate of Prelacy, within the Realm of *England*.

Presbyter, and tye all men to live in the Communion of the Church; he will violate many Oaths and Promises made to God and his Country; he will break his Baptismal Vow, which binds him to Obedience to his Spiritual Pastors and Governours; he will make himself guilty of Schism, and breach of Christian Charity; he will expose so many thousand Souls to be led into Errour and Confusion, which now have Prudent Governours, and good Authority to keep them within the Bounds of Truth and Soberness; he will give opportunity to Atheists and Libertines to attempt all Villany, and withal harden them in Unbelief, when they see such Tumblings and Confusions in Religion; he will bring a great Scandal upon the Christian Name and Profession all over the World. Neither can men submit to these Al-

terations, and joyn in such a Communion, without being Partakers in the like Guilt, and then let them consider what Hazard this will bring to their Salvation.

Neither are these only big words, or empty Scare-crows to terrifie men withal, but real, and un-answerable Evils which you will run upon. The temporal Mischiefs of War and Blood-shed, which alwayes happen upon such Changes, you all discern; but perhaps, you are not so sensible of the danger of your Souls; but you must remember, Religion and Government are set by God, to bridle mens Passions and Lusts, and therefore are not to be tossed up and down like a Tenn's-ball, at their pleasure, but must regulate their Wills according to the immutable Laws of Nature, and unalterable Dictates of Divine Reve-

lation; But quite contrary, men set their Wits a work to bring Religion and Government to Their Interest and Humour.

Now I desire all such busie Projectors to consider, whether they think the Rules of Right and Wrong, Just and Unjust do change with the Times, and that 'tis God's Will always we should follow our own Wills; if that be unreasonable to say; but they must confess God has given a Rule for men to walk by, and therefore, since there must of necessity be some Religion and Government, whether it be not certainly the Duty, as well as Interest of all men, to live quietly under that Settlement which is rightly Established, according to the Word of God, and to which they have sworn and vowed Obedience; and however it should be granted, that it were lawful for men

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left to their own free choice to contrive other Models and Forms of Religion and Government; that will not at all give us leave to change the present Establishment, or deny Conformity to it, since we are already tyed, by the strictest Bonds of Nature and Conscience, to yield all hearty Submission. And this Obligation will be still the stronger upon us, because we shall, by such a Change, depart from that Government and Religion which is founded in the Word of God, settled by Christ and his Apostles, confirmed by the standing Laws of the General Councils, ever practised and defended in the Catholick Church, and, at this day, Assented to by the main Body of Christians, and that under which this Nation has flourished and been settled for many Ages.

Neither will that obvious Scru-

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ple, which will be ready to arise in every Body's mind, at all weaken my present Discourse; namely, that we do justifie and approve of a Change that was made in King *Edward's* dayes. But I deny that our Government and Religion were then changed. For the Government, that is most evident; for there continued the same King, and the same Governours, Spiritual and Temporal, in the same Degree and Capacity that they were before.

Neither did the Governours change the Religion; for they made no new *Creed*, no new *Article* of *Faith*, violated no *Oath* to which they were bound, nor changed any *Doctrine* or *Worship* that they had any necessity to observe, or did any wayes tend to Piety; and so long it cannot be called a Change of Religion, but Freeing themselves and Subjects from those Burden-

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ſom and ſuperſtitious Impoſitions which they long groaned under, & often endeavoured to ſhake off. No man of Reaſon did ever think a Religion and Government is changed as often as the lawful Governours do reform ſome inconvenient and unlawful Uſages, wch Cuſtom & Private Intereſt have ſuperinduced, to the great prejudice of the Community.

But it will not be enough to be ſenſible of the Danger, & reſolve to avoid it; but care muſt be taken to eſcape the Snares that are laid to deceive you. The Papiſts therefore on one ſide call all Hereticks, Schiſmaticks and Fanaticks, and charge them with Departing from the *Catholick Church*, that do not ſubmit to the *Roman* Church. And the Fanaticks on the other hand, finding many Doctrines and Practices of the Papiſts juſtly to be condemned, call all Papiſts, that ſtand up for the Or-

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der and Authority of the Catholick Church, & count them Contemners of the Word of God, that ſo they may make them more odious amongſt the People. But let not any draw you from following that *Excellent* and moſt *Solemn Order* of *Divine Worſhip* which is required in the *Liturgy* of the *Church* of *England*, by the Pretence of *Popery*; neither let any ſeduce you to the *Superſtitions* of the *Church* of *Rome*, for fear of Departing from the Catholick Church. For thoſe that will ſeriouſly read the following Diſcourſes, ſhall find the Papiſts do notoriouſly depart from the Catholick Church, and the Fanaticks do manifeſtly deſpiſe the plain Word of God. I will give one Inſtance: There is nothing more evident in the Scripture, than that all *due Reverence* and *Obedience* ought to be ſhewed to all lawful

2 Pet. 2. 10. Jude 8.

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Governours, whereas they do most impudently scorn and revile them.

And who can enough stand amazed at the confidence of those People, that pretend to give great Credit to the Truth of the Plot, and yet report, the Bishops and Orthodox Clergy are Papists, and have a Design to bring in Popery? when the first Discoverer of the Plot do's inform the World, that they were all intended to be murdered by the Papists, and tells us the very names of the Persons that were to be put into their Places.

All therefore that will impartially consider the state of Religion, will certainly find, they can never be true Catholicks, unless they forsake the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; nor can they long keep out Popery, but by preserving the present Constitution of the Church of *England*. And I think it highly

ly the Concern of all that bear the Christian Name, to set themselves about the Suppressing of these furious Zealots, that mingle Religion with secular Government, and go about by Violence and Blood-shed to plant their private Opinions, and overturn Kingdoms and States, destroy mens Lives and Fortunes, Laws and Government, under pretence of Conscience and Religion. And as these ought to be subdued as common Enemies to Mankind: so men must not indulge and favour those whom they will term well-meaning, and good harmless People, so as to destroy all Order and Discipline for their sakes.

If an Army, out of tenderness to some few Mutineers, break their Ranks, and scatter their Forces, the Enemy will come in like a Flood, and they will lose a thousand for one.

one, and endanger the loſs of the whole.

The Churche's Safety likewiſe conſiſts in her Unity and Diſcipline; if theſe can be deſtroyed under the Notion of Favouring tender Conſciences, Hereſie and Profaneneſs will flow in like a Deluge upon us. That Liberty which the Enemies of our Church have taken to themſelves, has much diſtracted our Nation, and been the Ruin of many thouſand Souls, who have been ſeduced away by crafty Deceivers: But ſhould our Order and Government it ſelf be changed, and Authority countenance ſuch Innovations, the Publick Face of a Church would not long continue, but we ſhould naturally fall into Atheiſm or Popery.

If therefore the Preſervation of your Lives and Fortunes, the

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Peace of the Kingdom, the preventing of Atheiſm and Confuſion, the Obligation of Oaths and Promiſes, the Vow in your *Baptiſm*, and the common Rules of Juſtice, be any Motives to work upon you, you muſt uſe all lawful Endeavours to ſhut out *Popery* and *Presbyterianiſm*, and heartily maintain the Religion and Government which is now Eſtabliſhed amongſt us: Which, I hope, will be the conſtant Care of all true *Engliſhmen*, as it is the daily Prayer of your

Moſt Humble and

Faithful Servant,

William Saywell.

THE PREFACE To the READER.

THE *Deſign of theſe following Conſiderations, is to lay open the Miſchiefs, together with the Cauſes and Remedies of theſe lamentable Diviſions in Chriſtendom, which are carried on, under pretence of Religion; and though perhaps there be little Reaſon to hope, what I have ſaid, will have better Effect than what others have done before me in this kind; yet the preſent ill conſequences that we feel, and the growing danger that we are continually expoſed unto from ſuch Diſſenſions, make this Conjuncture more ſeaſonable than any heretofore, to perſwade men to hearken to Moderation; for it is evident beyond all poſſible denial, that it is in vain to hope by Force onely to ſuppreſs Diviſions, while there appears any colourable Reaſon to hold up the Breach, much leſs when ſome Truth is born down by a violent Torrent of popular Clamour,*

together with Errour: For we ſee by Experience the Cry of the Vulgar is quickly turned about to the contrary Extreme; for even thoſe that ſtrewed the Wayes for our Saviour, and led him in Triumph, crying Hoſanna, *ſoon changed their Note into* Crucifie him, Crucifie him. *Beſides, we muſt expect Politicians will manage ſuch diſcontents with ſuch Art, that it ſhall not be in the power of thoſe that firſt raiſed a ſtorm to quiet it again when they pleaſe, or to ſet bounds to the fury thereof. But then again, we are to remember how Charity is the bond of Perfectneſs, 'tis that alone that gives Life and Being to all other Graces, and without which we are none of Gods Children.* Though I have the gift of Pro-
1 Cor. 13. 2. phecy, and underſtand all Myſteries, and all Knowledge; and though I have all Faith, ſo that I could remove Mountains, and have no Charity, I am nothing: and though I beſtow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and though I give my Body to be burned, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing, 1 *Cor.* 13. 2, 3. *Therefore it muſt be every ones Care, in this broken and divided ſtate of the Church, to ſee that he be not guilty of Schiſm, and ſo void of this Grace of Charity, which is ſo neceſſary to Salvation.*

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The fault muſt lie ſomewhere, and ſad will it be with all thoſe who begin, further, and uphold theſe Diſſenſions; it will be to the great loſs of all thoſe that are unhappily deceived into compliance with theſe Errours, but much more dangerous for thoſe who carry them on, and foment them; and from ſuch I expect all the miſchief that Malice and Slander can do againſt me; and all thoſe who heartily deſire the ſettlement and preſervation of the Church of England, *as it is now eſtabliſhed by Law, and according to the Order and Rule of the Word of God, as it has been all along obſerved in the Chriſtian Church: For the Papiſts will call me a curſed and damnable Heretick, not fit to live, but worthy of the greateſt Torments: and the Fanaticks on the other hand will call me a Papiſt, or at leaſt, popiſhly affected; but, I thank God, I am neither, and I hope never ſhall be, but have endeavoured to bring back all honeſt men of both Perſwaſions, to the Church of* England: *and I hope ſober and well-minded men will ſeriouſly conſider what I have ſaid; and in order to their ſatisfaction, beſides ſhewing them the neceſſity of Unity in the Catholick Church, and Obedience to the Church of* England, *I have alſo, in ſhort, anſwered moſt, if not all the Objections*

that are made by either Party againſt our Communion, and withal given Directions how we ought to demean our ſelves towards thoſe who differ from us: but yet it will not be improper, even here, in the Preface, *to give ſhort Limits, the better to prepare the* Reader *to attend the following Conſiderations.*

Now, in the firſt place it is to be taken notice of, that all the Diſſenting Parties from the Church of England *do agree, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, generally ſpeaking, do either in terms, or neceſſary conſequence, contain all things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation* *.

* Bellar. de verbo Dei ſcripto lib. 4. cap. 11. Illa omnia ſcripta ſunt ab Apoſtolis, quæ ſunt omnibus ſimpliciter neceſſaria ad ſalutem.

2. *The ſobereſt of them agree in the ſame Creeds, and moſt other neceſſary Points that are collected from thence, if not all; though perhaps each lay more weight upon ſome private Opinions of their own, than they ought to do.*

3. *They agree, There ought to be Paſtors and Governours in the Church, who have power to keep up Order and Diſcipline, to exerciſe Cenſures of Suſpenſion, Excommunication, and Deprivation; and to preſcribe Limits, and Places, and Orders for Religious Duties, and Aſſemblies.*

4. *They agree, That the Church of God is but one, and that all Chriſtian People muſt be*

be united together in one Common Faith, and Charity one with another; and their Union with the whole, muſt appear by their orderly Communion with that particular part to which they are joyned; ſo that one juſtly excommunicate by a particular Church or Congregation to which he does belong, is likewiſe Excommunicate from the whole Church, whereof that is a true Member.

5. *They agree, That to break the Unity of the Church, and ſeparate from the Members of Chriſts Myſtical Body is a breach of Charity, and will prove very fatal to all thoſe that are guilty of ſuch a wickedneſs; accordingly are ready to call all Hereticks, that differ from them in Opinion; and Apoſtates and Schiſmaticks, that ſeparate from their ſchiſmatical Aſſemblies.*

So that in effect the concluſion is, which ſhall be greateſt, and who ſhall have the Authority in their Hands: and moſt of the particular matters in diſpute, beſide what relate to Government, are chiefly grounded upon the wrong ſtating of the Queſtion, or elſe made uſe of as politick Engines to cloak over the worldly Intereſts of Dominion and Rule, and to free themſelves from their due Obedience and Subjection to their lawful Paſtors. I have ſhew'n at large

how the Novelties of Popery *were plainly brought in for Secular Ends; and 'tis most evident, the quarrel about* Ceremonies, *and the observation of* Rules *not expresly commanded in Scripture, is meerly upheld because it is a means which has been used with good Effect to delude the people, and to make them the better accept that Government, which could scarce be found passable, were it proposed alone: but besides these pretences to cheat the ignorant, this contention about Government finds a great many Friends and Flatterers ready to add Fuel to their Ambition; all loose and negligent Christians are willing to sit silent and secretly to be glad of it; all Atheists, Libertines, Politicians, Erastians, and generally all wicked men will strike in and applaud such Attempts, thereby to weaken the Power of their proper Governours, that so they may better enjoy their Lusts and Pleasures without controul or punishment. Thereupon we commonly see the multitude take part with Male-contents, and think well of those that vilifie the Government, and speak evil of men in Authority; and their Whispers shall be more regarded than other mens Demonstrations.*

Having seen by what wayes these Divisions are propagated amongst the Vulgar, it will

will be no leſs admirable to ſee how one Sect did graft it ſelf upon the Suppoſitions of another. Thus when ſome anciently did aſſert the Community of the name Πρεσβύτερος *to both Orders,* Aerius *did thence take occaſion to maintain the Order it ſelf was but one; and becauſe the* Divine Right *of Biſhops, as Succeſſors to the Apoſtles, maintained as it is ſet down in the Word of God, and practiſed and taught in the Church, does certainly cut off all Dominion of the Pope; that is the Reaſon why that Definition was ſo much oppoſed at the Council of* Trent: *therefore his Flatterers have built upon the Foundation of* Aerius, *that the Order indeed of Miniſters is but one; but the Degrees are many, the higheſt of which is the* Papacy, *in which the Fulneſs of all Authority does reſide; and all other Paſtors muſt derive what they have, wholly from the Pope.* Calvin *and his Adherents learning this Notion of our Order from the Schoolmen, and finding good Reaſon to caſt off the Authority of the Pope, without further enquiry ſet up for a Parity, and framed a Platform of Church-Government by Claſſical Aſſemblies, and Ordinations by the diffuſive Body of Prieſts, without any Biſhop at all, or any of Superiour Order or degree amongſt them; and this is*

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the true Presbyterian Level. But others finding a Society of Christians *under one Governour, called by the name of* Church, *as in Saint* Pauls Epistles, *and in the* Revelations; *they dislike this Classical Government, and make each Pastor to have all Church-Authority, with the concurrence of the Lay-Elders of his particular Congregation; whereby indeed they do approve of a single Pastor in opposition to a Classis, and in some measure give countenance to the* Scripture-Episcopacy; *yet they do come far short of the Ancient Rule. And in this Model there being no community of Pastors, or one Head to give Ordination, they ascribe the Authority of Assigning Pastors to the whole Congregation; in which order they are followed in some kind by the* Anabaptists *and* Quakers, *who likewise do exceed in other circumstances, in that they give place to every gifted Brother or Sister, and are not confined to one particular Governour or Teacher. I cannot stand in this* Preface *to refute their several pretences, or fully to establish the Truth; but those of Presbytery, and the Papacy, being of greatest Extent, I have spoken pretty largely in refutation of both their Grounds in the following Discourse: But thus much I may add in general here: Since God did solemnly,*

ly, under the Old Teſtament, *and our Saviour under the* New, *appoint and ſet apart certain Governours over his Church, and did give ſuch expreſs Command to all men to obey them; ſince the Scripture does ſpeak ſo much for Order and Diſcipline, and lay ſuch great Charge upon the Paſtors, to ſee that Decency and Holineſs be kept up amongſt Chriſtians, it can never be thought reaſonable that men ſhould chap and change the Government at pleaſure, that it ſhould be either in the power of the People, or of the Magiſtrate to conſtitute or depoſe Chriſts Miniſters at their pleaſure; but that they ſhould derive their Authority by an orderly Succeſſion from Chriſt himſelf, and all their Flocks ſhould obey them as Chriſts Miniſters, and thoſe whom the Holy Ghoſt had ſet over them. And if ſuch be the Order as we ought to look for, we muſt ſtick to that Government, and ſuch Paſtors as from Age to Age can derive an orderly Miſſion to that Office.*

'Tis not Gifts and Abilitie to perform an Office, that gives a man Authority to exerciſe it, and obliges people to obey him. but he muſt receive Commiſſion from one that has power to give it. They muſt therefore produce new Miracles, ſhew a ſpecial Command from Heaven, that challenge to them-

themſelves this Authority, except they are ſent in the orderly way derived down by Succeſſion, or if they would ſet up a new Platform different from that which Chriſt and his Apoſtles left in the Church. Now ſince it is moſt evident, for Fifteen hundred years together the viſible Order and Government of the Church was by Biſhops, and Provincial and Univerſal Synods of them, who were an Order above Presbyters, and not one Inſtance to be given where the Church accounted any lawful Governours of the Church, that were not appointed in that manner, till Chriſt by a Miracle from Heaven ſhall change that Order, we muſt own thoſe for our Spiritual Governours, and ordinary Paſtors, and Prieſts, and Deacons appointed by them which are ſo ſet over us, and no other. I ſpeak this of the ordinary way where ſuch Governours are or may be had; but I ſhall not now put Caſes hard, and what Method muſt be obſerved in them; our preſent circumſtances requiring no ſuch nice Reſolutions, we may leave them for thoſe to decide who have neceſſity to depart from the common Road, as we have not. Now let all unprejudiced perſons conſider with themſelves, ſince the ſeveral parties do readily agree there muſt be Government and Order in the Church by

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Christs Appointment; and that all Inferiour Members, must submit and yield Obedience to Ecclesiastical Pastors, in Matters relating to Religion and Religious Affairs; and then further observe, that we have a continued Succession, and orderly Settlement of Pastors thus constituted amongst us, and the Constant Example of all former Ages, for 1600 Years together for the like Order; besides the Practice of the Greatest part of those that profess Christianity at this day in the World, and then ask their own Souls, whether this be not the Government Christ himself appointed; and in opposing it, we shall be found to fight against God, and break the Unity of his Church.

But yet further; I must lay the Charge a little higher: all the Confusions and Distractions of Christendome, all the Wickedness and Profaneness that overspread the Outward Face of Christian Communities, must be imputed to them who have made Changes and Alterations, and taught People to new Model and Dispute the Government which was appointed by God to keep things in better Order; and while Men hearken to the new fangled Tyranny of the Pope, or any other New Model or Form of Government, besides that which has all

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along been propagated, and derived Originally from Christ and his Apostles, and those Pastors be had in due Reverence and Esteem; there never will nor can be any Settlement amongst Christians: for how can we hope for Settlement without the Blessing of God? And how can we expect God's Blessing, but by keeping his
Heb. 13. *Commandments? Which are,* To obey
1 Thess. 5. them that have the Rule over you; for
12, 13. they watch for your Souls; *And again,* We beseech you Brethren to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, & admonish you, to esteem them very highly in Love, for their Works sake; and be at Peace amongst your selves. *But in order to it, we must shew all Love and Esteem for our Governours; but, God knows, the World is far from that, and thence came all our Miseries and Destructions. But nothing is more plain and evident, than that there are Spiritual Rulers appointed by God, whom we must obey, and esteem very highly in Love. Now these being to speak in Christ's Name, to be Ambassadors between God and his Creatures, they cannot derive their Commission, or receive their Authority from Earth, but from Heaven; and in that Way and Manner as Christ has appointed,*

pointed, which we know was, by ſending forth his Apoſtles, and giving them Authority to ſend others; and with this promiſe, That he could be with them always unto the end of the World. So that the Rulers muſt not ſet up themſelves, neither muſt the people heap to themſelves Teachers; but they muſt obey them whom God has ſet over them. Therefore Saint Paul *ſayes,* Act. 20. 28. Take heed to your ſelves, and to all the Flock over the which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops, to rule the Church of God; *So that when neither the Pope, nor any of thoſe that are for changes, can ſhew any orderly appointment from God, or ſucceſſion from Christ, for what they do; they muſt be accounted Humane Inventions, and Schiſmatical Devices to breed confuſion in the Church.* ἐπισκόπες ποιμαίνειν

Neither will that modern contrivance of ſome State-Flatterers, who leave it to the power of the Civil Magiſtrate to preſcribe the Form and Manner of Church-Government, be any means to quiet, but the ready way to promote contentions in the Church; nay, it is the moſt effectual way to eſtabliſh Popery in the World, and the only Foundation upon which it can ſubſiſt. For, there being no colour for it by Divine, or Canonical Right; if it be once admitted, that

it

it is in the power of the Magistrate to set up what Order and Government he has a mind to, this does justifie all those Kingdoms and States that have established the Popes Authority, and expose all others to the perpetual Attempts and conspiracies of the Emissaries from Rome, *either to perswade or force them to do the like, when 'tis confessed they have Right so to do. So that, notwithstanding all the Outcries they make against Popery, those that are for taking away, or weakening the power of Episcopacy, take the readiest course to bring it in. Whereas, if all Churches did assert the Authority of their own Bishops as received from Christ, and not to be subjected or invaded by any Foreign Power, nor to receive any Laws or Impositions in matters of Religion, but what are enacted by the Word of God, or the whole Church, this would be an invincible Bulwark against the Popes Authority, and all other corruptions of the* Roman Church; *nay, against all Heresies and Schisms whatsoever. But if we leave it either to the Civil Magistrate to appoint what he shall please, or to the people to choose what Pastors, what Government, and what Religion they please, and to prescribe what, and where, and when, and how we must observe Religious Duties;*

then

then we must expect the like Confusion, which hitherto we have seen, to our great sorrow, and danger both of Soul and Body.

Having spoken concerning the Government of the Church, and shewen how unreasonable the Papists and other Dissenters are, in causing any Division in England *upon that account, seeing we observe that Order which is derived down by Succession from Christ; I will in short shew, that the other Matters in Dispute are chiefly maintained to uphold their pretended Claim to Authority. And,*

First, as to the Points in difference between the Church of England *and the Church of* Rome, *I do not find that their sobereſt Writers, or at leaſt not the Council of* Trent, *do say that any of those Points we differ in from them, are absolutely necessary to Salvation, neither are we obliged to profeſs them by any Command of the Primitive Church: So that the great Reason for which they condemn us in those matters, is, because we do not submit to the Pope and his Councils; and if they should once grant them to have erred, and leave men at Liberty to reject their Decrees, all their Dominion would fall by such a Concession; so that, not for the necessity of the matter*

in Difference, but for ſake of the Authority that has commanded us, they exact of us the obſervance of their private Errours. But if we ſtick to, and maintain the Government as it is eſtabliſhd in England, *all pretence to ſuch Authority over us will be taken away, and ſo all Obligation to obey ſuch Commands together with it.*

So likewiſe the Fanaticks on the other hand do not think the Matters in Difference are of ſuch moment, as to make it unlawful for them to joyn with us in Communion, for they do frequently communicate with us; nay, that which they chiefly inſiſt upon is this, That it is lawful ſometimes to change and alter things, and that it is not abſolutely neceſſary, that the preſent Conſtitutions ſhould be retained by virtue of any Divine Command, wherein they do ſay no more as to many particulars than the Church her Self does confeſs: but the Inference they make from thence is not at all good, becauſe they may be changed, therefore they ought to be changed, 'tis expedient they ſhould be changed: nay, and there is all the Reaſon againſt it; for ſince many pretend that theſe things are fooliſh and ſuperſtitious, which have been uſed for many hundred years with good advantage; to yield to a Change upon ſuch demands is, tacitly

See the Prefaces before the Common Prayer.

tacitly at leaſt to condemn them when we have no ground for it. 2. *It will be a means to give them opportunity to report amongſt the people, That the Church has hitherto been to blame, and the cauſe of all our Diviſions and miſchiefs; becauſe it did not ſooner change theſe things, which now they do acknowledge they have good Reaſon to do.* 3. *'Tis plainly taking the Authority which God has given to Governours, and giving it to thoſe that ſhould obey them; and the Conteſt is only which ſhall govern, a prudent Father, or a ſtubborn Child: for our wiſe Governours made no new Laws, ordained no new Ceremonies; but with all Piety did endeavour to preſerve that Order and Decency which was for many Ages tranſmitted down to them by their Religious Foreſathers: but, at this their peeviſh & wilful Children grow rebellious and obſtinate, and one will not have this, annother will not ſubmit to that, neither ever yet could they agree what they would have; ſo that in Effect they would be Governours, and would command and forbid what they pleaſe, and their Rulers muſt ſubmit and be governed by them, and at length be wholly ſet aſide, as we found by experience they were by thoſe who did bring all into confuſion, when God for our ſins did ſuffer them to prevail. Till*

therefore it shall be made out, that any thing commanded in the Church of England *is unlawful, it is in vain to hope by any changes or alterations to bring these Dissenters to sobriety and moderation. 'Tis Dominion and Rule is at the bottom of all, and that Pride can never be taken away by any Concessions, but will be rather fed and encouraged to farther Attempts.*

The way and method therefore to satisfie all sober and rational men, and to procure peace and settlement, (if God Almighty will bestow upon us so great a blessing) is to propose some Rule to go by in these Matters, and we can think of no better than that which almost all Churches already have agreed in, as the measure to direct them, viz. the practice, and interpretation of the Ancient and Catholick Church. If we in the Church of England *follow no new Inventions, nothing contrary to the Word of God, and, omit nothing that is there required as a Duty, and in other Circumstances have the Example and Authority of the Ancient Church, to the Countenance of our Laws and Constitutions. I hope no man of Reason and Piety, will think it prudent, after near an Hundred and Fifty Years Continuance and Settlement of our Church, now to make Changes*

and

and Alterations, and ſo weaken her Authority and Reputation. If there were any thing unlawful ſtill remaining, then I confeſs we ſhould be obliged to reform it, and take it away, as we did the Corruptions *of Popery; but when it cannot be proved there is any thing commanded in our Church contrary to the Word of God, and all things are agreeable to it, and warranted from the Example and Authority of the Ancient Fathers and Primitive* Church, *to depart from them without any Reaſon, but to gratifie the humour of ſome unquiet Spirits, which we ſee make it their buſineſs to ſpread Slanders and Calumnies amongſt the people, and to traduce their Spiritual Fathers for Papiſts or Popiſhly affected (which is as unlikely as if they ſhould ſay they are conſpiring to cut their own Throats) can never be called Moderation, but is the greateſt encouragement to Faction in the World, and the way to make men unſettled in every thing, and not out of hopes to ſee greater* Changes *in time to come. Let all thoſe therefore that love the peace of the* Church, *and the Good of their own* Souls, *follow* Solomons *direction to his Son,* Prov. 24. 21. My Son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to CHANGE.

The first Clause of Magna Charta.

We have granted to God [*and will a man rob God?*] *Malachi* 3. 8. and by this present Charter have confirmed for Us and our Heirs for ever, that the Church of *England* shall be Free, and shall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable.

THE

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CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Miſerable State of Chriſtendom, by reaſon of Diſſentions in Religion.

IT has been the Earneſt Prayer and Deſire of many good men, that the Differences in Chriſtendome might be Debated and Conſidered with all the Meekneſs and Conſideration that is poſſible, on all ſides; That if there could not be a General Union, yet all Animoſities and Contentions might be wholly Diſclaimed and Condemned; and that every Particular Church reſting ſatisfied with their own Laws, wherein they did not contradict the Catholick Church (which is the Mother of us all) ſhould, without any Moleſtation and Invaſion of one ano-

ther's Liberties, maintain an entire Communion of Co-ordination, by the ſtricteſt Bonds of Love and Friendſhip with other Chriſtian Churches, till God's Providence ſhould ſo far reveal the Truth in the Hearts of all Chriſtian People, that they may have as perfect an Agreement in the preſent Points of Controverſie, about which they are now divided, as they have in all the Eſſential and Neceſſary Parts of the Chriſtian Religion.

But I need not relate what ill Succeſs thoſe men have had, who have ventured to declare themſelves in Publick, and offered to interpoſe in theſe Quarrels, and perſwade men to hearken to this Moderation. All Scholars know they have got little elſe for their Charity, but only Blows from every Party: for ſtill it hath fallen out, that Men of more Zeal than Diſcretion, of greater Reading, than Judgment, have ſtruck in with the Polititians, and wrote that which would moſt pleaſe the Men in Authority, and was likely to get them moſt Favour and Reputation amongſt thoſe that could ſatisfie their Ambition, and by theſe Means have rather ſerved themſelves, than God; though with the Confuſion and Diſorder of the Church.

Now,

Now, if Schiſm, Strife, and Debate, Breach of Charity, Envyings, Hatred, Malice, and a Flood of Ignorance and Impiety, were the only Inconveniences that did flow from this Diviſion, then there were little Hopes that Carnal men would ever be moved, or become ſo affected with the Evil, as to endeavour to redreſs it. But when they ſee Atheiſm, Breach of Common Faith and Honeſty, Violation of all Oaths and Contracts, Murders, Treaſons, Conſpiracies, Rebellions, Long and Bloody Wars, Maſſacres, Fires, Underminings, Poyſons, & Subverſions of Governments, are the ſad Conſequences of ſuch Diſſentions in Religion, and theſe not only Practiſed and Contrived by Ruffians of Mean Fortunes, and Profligate Behaviour, but juſtified and owned by Publick Authority, vouched for the Doctrine of Chriſt, and of his Church, maintain'd by men of the greateſt Learning and Acuteneſs, and Perſons Crown'd with the Title of *Martyrs* for ſuch horrid Deeds; Methinks this ſhould awaken all Rational men to hearken to Moderation, and to lay aſide all Furious Heats and Paſſions, that there may be ſome Remedy found out to prevent

theſe Lamentable Miſchiefs, to which Chriſtians are daily expoſed. For they are not Evils merely in Imagination, or ſuch Calamities as have only once happened, and may never return again; but 'tis a formed and ſetled Danger: ſuch a Miſery, that we are liable to it almoſt every hour, at leaſt every year, from one Attempt or other: And all our Lives and Fortunes, or elſe the Comfort and Quietneſs of our Being is thus at Stake.

Now, if there be any Uſe of Hiſtory, if the Experience and Knowledge of Former Times be of any moment to Poſterity, it is to inform them what Dangers they are in, and inſtruct them how to avoid the like Miſchiefs for the Time to come.

That theſe Parts of Chriſtendom, for ſome Ages paſt have been an *Aceldama*, or Field of Blood, and many Horrid and Barbarous Murders have been acted upon Pretence of Religion, is evident from all Modern Hiſtories: And though the *Romiſh* Party have been the great Cauſe of all theſe Inhumane Butcheries, yet they have not been the only Actors in them. There are another Sort of men who have had their Hands ſtained with

with Blood; and upon what Motives and Principles, and to what Degrees they have proceeded, I refer the Reader to Archbiſhop *Bancroft's Dangerous Poſitions*, and to the *Hiſtory of Presbytery*, to ſatisfie himſelf; and alſo to the innumerable Sermons and Pamphlets to that Purpoſe, during the Late Rebellion. At preſent I will only ſet down a Paſſage taken out of *Bancroft's Dangerous Poſitions*, Lib. 1. c. 5. *Give me leave to advertiſe you that this New Divinity, of dealing thus with* Princes, *is not only held by* Knox *and* Buchanan, *but generally (for ought I can learn) by moſt of the Conſiſtorians of Chief Name beyond the Seas; who (being of the* Geneva-*Humour) do endeavour, by moſt unjuſt and diſloyal Means, to ſubject to their forged* Presbyteries, *the Scepters and Swords of Kings and* Princes: *as* Calvin, Beza, Hotoman, Urſinus (*as He cometh out from* Newſtadt) *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, Euſebius Philadelphus, &c. *For the further Fruit of which Conſiſtorian Divinity (beſides that which is ſaid by ſome of the Miniſters of* Scotland) *I refer you to the Conſideration of ſuch Stirs as have happened of late years in ſome other Countries.*

Vid. Grot. *Vot. pro Pac.* Art. 16.

See many more Particulars throughout this whole Book of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, and the Late Rebellion in *Scotland*, in Juſtification of the *Presbyterian* Covenant, ſince the Writing of theſe Conſiderations, does manifeſt the Truth of what I ſay, and that the Charge is not Groundleſs or Uncharitable.

This is moſt undoubted, That the Guides and Teachers of each Sect have Publickly maintained the Juſtneſs and Equity of ſuch Doings, and they have never failed to perſwade their Diſciples and Followers to join with them in advancing their Cauſe by ſuch violent Means, whenſoever they had occaſion or opportunity to effect their Deſigns, or elſe when it did appear probable that they might thereby obtain their Ends. I know ſome will be ſtartled at this Saying, and be apt to think it a Slander; but they are to take notice that this is not reckoned as a prime Verity, or a Doctrine that all ought explicitly to profeſs at all times, and therefore it may very well happen, that for ſome years together they may receive no ſuch Inſtructions from their Teachers, while the Government runs another way, and they are too inconſiderable to thrive by ſuch

ſuch Doctrines; but they do not fail to keep ſuch a ſtrict hand over all their Followers, that when there is occaſion to make Uſe of it, it will be propoſed in ſuch a manner, as they ſhall not dare to gainſay it, or to renounce any ſuch Pretenſions; if they do, it will be upon ſuch Grounds as will ſhake all the reſt of their Principles upon which they have hitherto built the Hopes of their Salvation.

CHAP. II.

The Chriſtian Church no way engaged in this Doctrine or Practice.

THough ſeveral Murders and Rebellions have been carried on by thoſe that call themſelves Chriſtians, yet neither the Chriſtian Religion, nor the Church it ſelf did ever teach any ſuch Doctrine, or encourage any ſuch Practice. By the Chriſtian Church here, I mean, the Catholick, as a Society and Body incorporate, founded by Jeſus Chriſt, with Authority to guide and rule all thoſe, that ſince his Aſcenſion

into Heaven, are to be Heirs of Salvation, according to what we are taught in our Creed to believe, *The Holy Catholick Church.* And although she has not often met by her Representatives, to prescribe Orders for the Peace and Safety of all her Members; yet by God's Providence, she hath had such frequent Assemblies upon this Account, that all Points of Faith now called in question, have been already decided by her Authority: And there are such Directions and Commands left for other matters, which, if they were observed, would be sufficient at this time to put an end to all Schismes and Disorders in the Church. So that this being a Point no where defined, or taught by Her in any of Her Acts and Traditions, we may securely say, that the Church Universal, or Christianity does not oblige us to any such wicked Opinions. Nay there are such Evidences against it, that no Rational man, that does rightly consider the Matter, can ever doubt, but that She in Her Judgment and Belief wholly condemns all such Wicked and Ungodly Designs.

But, for further Satisfaction, I will enquire into the State of this Matter;

And

And, though a Negative in point of Doctrine, might be ſufficient; namely, That there is no ſuch thing any where recorded, or ſo much as intimated in Scripture, nor any Colour for it for above a Thouſand Years in the Church; yet it will be ſome Advantage to our Cauſe, to underſtand what there is to be ſaid againſt this Doctrine and Practice.

Now, I being to deal with different Parties in this Matter, I muſt look into the Original of all Governments, that ſo I may be ſure to meet with, and overthrow all Erroneous Principles and Pretenſions about it, as far as concerns our preſent Caſe.

That all Power and Dominion is originally from God, is not to be doubted, but by Atheiſts; and that Governours act in his Name, and by his Authority, is as unqueſtionable amongſt Chriſtians. Now, this Power is derived to them, either from the Law of Nature, which is common to all Mankind; or elſe, from poſitive Revelation and Aſſignment: The firſt and higheſt Fountain of Supreme Power is founded in that Natural Dominion that God hath given Parents over their Children; inſomuch,

ſomuch, that if either *Adam* or *Noah*, who were the Common Fathers of us all, were now alive, they ought to be the Univerſal Monarchs of the World. But when the Father dies, and Brothers are ſcatter'd up and down the World, and live independently one of another, there can be no Natural Pretence for one to have Dominion over the other; yet the Neceſſity of Forming themſelves into Societies, for Mutual Defence and Traffick, will oblige them to enter into Covenants, and erect a Government by common Conſent, to end their Differences, and to provide for the Safety and Benefit of the whole: And though while they are free, they may chuſe different Forms, as they ſhall ſee beſt for themſelves; yet, having once choſen, and accepted of a Supreme Power; they are not at Liberty to caſt it off again when they pleaſe; but all the Rights, Prerogatives and Juriſdictions which belong to Sovereign Authority, are preſently by God inveſted on it, who does ratifie all Lawful Pacts and Agreements, and requires us ſtrictly and inviolably to obſerve them. For there are Natural and Eternal Rights that belong to all Things and Actions. And

as

as the Subject has an inherent Right belonging to him, to challenge the Defence and Protection of his Prince, which he can never forfeit whilſt he keeps his Loyalty; ſo there is a Natural Dominion belonging to the Supreme Power, which does eſſentially belong to it, and to the Perſon or Perſons that are rightly inveſted therewith. From whence it comes to paſs, that though it may fall out that the Perſon ſometime may be choſen by the People, or Nobility, or Senate, to ſupply a Remedy againſt the Confuſion of Anarchy, which might ariſe from the Mortality of Common Parents, yet the Power and Office it ſelf was not made, is not given, nor cannot be limited or bounded by them, ſo as to deſtroy the Office it ſelf, or make it become no Supreme Power; one Prerogative whereof, is to be irreſiſtable, and not to be called to Account by any but God.

This will be better underſtood by ſome Inſtances. A Servant is at liberty to make choice of his Maſter; and a Woman does take whom ſhe pleaſes for her Husband; but neither of theſe do give Authority to thoſe Relations; that is from God, and they muſt obey them according

according to his Ordinance; and all Covenants and Agreements contrary to the Duties of those Relations, are void and insignificant, and must give way to the higher Obligation which Nature hath given to such Superiors. Neither does this indue our Governors with Arbitrary and Unlimited Authority over their Inferiors, so that they may do with them what they please; but they are bound by the Laws of Nature and Christianity, to use all Tenderness and Care of them, both in relation to their Souls and Bodies. Thus there is a Duty that is owing from a Master, to instruct and nourish his Servant; from a Husband, to love and maintain his Wife; and from a Prince, to defend his Subjects in all their Rights and Properties. A Master must use his Servant as a Man, and not as a Beast; a Husband must use his Wife as a Companion, and not as a Servant; and a Prince must use his Subjects as Freemen, and not Slaves. But if Princes do not their Duty, we must not revenge our selves; for we ought not to be Judges in our own Case: for God hath told us that *Vengeance* is his, and he will *Repay*. Therefore we must go for Vengeance

Heb. 10. 30
Rom. 12. 19.

geance to those whom God hath appointed to execute Vengeance in his stead. If then our Inferiour Governors do us wrong, we must go to the Superior, who are made *Revengers, to execute Wrath on them that do Evil.* Rom. 13. But if the Supreme Powers themselves oppress us, they cannot be judg'd by their Inferiors; and there will be no other Remedy, but to leave them to the Judgment of God, who hath reserved their Punishment to himself; but tells us, *He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.* Rom. 13. 2 And 'tis better to suffer unjustly in this World, than to suffer justly in the World to come: For since the last Judgment in this World must be somewhere, 'tis fitter that Children should be committed to the Judgment of their Parents, and Inferiors to the Supreme, than any other way. And this does keep them in Obedience and Reverence, and engages *them to pray for Kings and all in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them.* 1 Tim. 2. 2 And for our better encouragement herein, God himself, who is the Sovereign King of all things, does by his especial

Care

Care and Providence watch over Governors, and over-rules their Hearts
Prov. 31. 1 and Councils. *The King's Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, as the Rivers of Water, he turneth it whitherſoever he will.* And though they are the Inſtruments, yet it is his Purpoſes or Commands that they put in execution, whether they be for Good or Evil. He enclines them to Favour and Mercy, and diſpoſes all things for Peace and Quiet, when he is pleaſed to try us with Proſperity and Kindneſs, and does at the ſame time tie up the Hands of all wicked and Turbulent Spirits. Again, when our Sins call for Judgment and Indignation, then he ſends forth evil Governors, or elſe permits wicked men to act according to their own Cruel and Ambitious Minds, and the Inſtigation of the Devil. But yet in the midſt of Judgment he does remember Mercy, and will ſet them their Bounds, beyond which they ſhall not paſs; they ſhall not exceed one Moment the Limits of their Commiſſion, or do any harm further than God, in his Wiſdom, ſhall give them leave; and that is no more than is needful for our Good. He calls the Evil of Puniſhment *his Act* but, his

Strange

Strange Act. He does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of men. The Fathers of our Fleſh many times do not ſee or obſerve God's End; for *they chaſtened us after their own Pleaſure, but God for our Profit.* And if we do rightly behave our ſelves under his Correction, *we know that all things ſhall work together for good to them that love God.* And if it be for your further Benefit, he will give you even Temporal Deliverance out of all your Oppreſſions; *for God is faithful, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above that you are able, but will with the Temptation alſo make a way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it.* So that we are to look upon Evil Governors and Superiors that oppreſs us, no other than Plagues, or violent Storms, or Earthquakes, ſent from God, from whence we may run and hide our ſelves, if it be poſſible, and uſe all reaſonable Means to ſave our Lives, by Flight, or the like; but they are no more to be reſiſted by Violence, than any of thoſe Natural Evils. We muſt by Humiliation and Prayer implore God's Mercy to us, in turning their hearts, or ſome other way ſending us Deliverance, as we

Lam. 3

Heb. 12. 10.

Rom. 8. 28

1 Cor. 10. 13.

we do to avert a Plague, or an Earthquake; but God hath given us no Natural Strength to secure our selves, and thereupon will defend us himself, and have us depend wholly therein upon his own Care. This Belief it was that filled the World with Martyrs, and made so many Thousands voluntarily lay down their Lives, rather than move a Finger in their own Defence, against their Lawful Sovereigns. This made
Joh. 19. 10, 11. our Saviour confess to *Pilate*, That he had *Power* given him *from above* to *Crucifie* him, or *Release* him; and upon
Mat. 17. 27. another Occasion, to *pay Tribute* in Acknowledgment of *Cæsar*'s Authority; and
Joh. 18. 36. to Declare that *His Kingdom was not of this World.* It was upon this Account that S. *Paul* said, *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers.* And S. *Peter*
1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. commands us to *Submit to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King, as Supreme,* or others sent by him. And in this Sense those Texts, and the Authority of Governors were vouched by the Ancient Fathers and Councils; and there is not one Writer, for a Thousand Years, of any Credit in the Church, that did ever Doubt of, or Question this Doctrine; but

but many of them have declared themſelves fully for it: That Sovereign Princes had their Authority immediately from God, and were accountable to none but Him, if they did uſe it amiſs; And therefore could not be depoſed by any Authority upon Earth, whether of Pope or People; neither ought they to be reſiſted by open Violence, or have their Power wreſted out of their Hands by any of their Rebellious Subjects. Thoſe alſo that act in a War without the Commiſſion of the Supreme Power, or of the King, where he is Supreme, have not the Sword given them by God, but take it themſelves, and therefore *ſhall periſh with the ſame.* *Mat.* 26. 52.

The Scripture being ſo clear in this matter, go we on to the Doctrine of the Church, and the Senſe of the Holy Fathers about it. And firſt, I might take Notice of the General Councils, which were all ſummoned by the Emperours Authority; And, in Obedience to their Commands, the Biſhops did meet together at the Places appointed, and acknowledge all hearty Submiſſion to be due to their ſacred Majeſties. See but the Epiſtles and Acts relating to the ſeveral Councils; they are commonly

to be had, and eaſily to be conſulted, and therefore I need not tranſcribe any thing out of them; but will paſs on to the Sayings of the moſt eminent Fathers in their ſeveral Ages, expreſſing the Divine Authority of their Kings and Emperours, and the ſincere Obedience they did owe to them.

And firſt *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Apology to the Emperour *Apol.* 2. Κολάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς οὐκ ἀκολούθως τοῖς διδάγμασιν αὐτοῦ [*viz.* Χριστοῦ] βιοῦντας, λεγομένους δὲ μόνον χριστιανοὺς, καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀξιοῦμεν· φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ, κατ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τοῦ καιροῦ προσελθόντες τινὲς ἠρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ δεῖ Καίσαρι φόρους τελεῖν. καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, εἴπατέ μοι, τίνος εἰκόνα τὸ νόμισμα ἔχει; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν Καίσαρος. καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ· ὅθεν θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες, καὶ εὐχόμενοι μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ σώφρωνα τὸν λογισμὸν ἔχοντας ὑμᾶς εὑρεθῆναι. We deſire that thoſe who are only called Chriſtians, and do not live anſwerable to the Doctrine [of Chriſt] ſhould be puniſhed by you.

But

But we endeavour above all to pay Tribute and Cuſtom to thoſe who are every where appointed by you, as we are taught by him [*viz.* by Chriſt] for at that time certain coming unto him, asked if they ought to pay Tribute to *Cæſar*, and he anſwered, tell me whoſe Image the Money does bear? And they ſaid unto him, *Cæſar's*. He anſwered them again, *Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*, and *to God the things that are God's*. From whence it comes to paſs that we worſhip God alone, but we are joyfully obedient to you in all other things, acknowledging Kings and Rulers over men, and praying that they may have ſound Reaſon, together with their Kingly Power.

Iren. lib. 5. c. 24. *Omnis Anima Poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit, hoc enim Dominus confirmavit jubens proſe & Petro dari Tributum, quoniam Dei Miniſtri ſunt hoc ipſum Deſervientes.* Let every Soul be Subject to the higher Powers, for our Lord confirmed this when he commanded that Tribute ſhould be paid for Him and *Peter*, becauſe they are the Miniſters of God attending continually upon this very thing.

Theophil. Antioch. lib. 1. *ad Autol.* Ἐρεῖς ἔν μοι, διά τι ὁ προσκυνεῖς τὸν βασιλέα; ὅπι ἐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῇ νομίμῳ τιμῇ. θεὸς γὰρ ἐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος, ἐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν. τρόπῳ γάρ τινι καὶ θείᾳ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ὃς ἔχει ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους, ἃ βέλεται Βασιλεῖς καλεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ βασιλεῦς αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὄνομα, καὶ ἐκ ἄλλῳ ἔξόν ἐστι τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι. οὕτως οὐδὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ θεῷ. ——τὸν γὰ βασιλέα τίμα, τίμα δίνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτῷ, δουλόμενος ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ποιεῖς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ νόμος· ὁ τὸν θεὸν, τίμα τὸν θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπειθῆς ἦς. You will say unto me, why do not you worship the King? Because he was not made to be worshipped, but to be honoured with a lawful Honour; for he is not a God, but a man appointed by God; not that he should be worshipped, but that he should judge righteously: for after some Sort he has a Dispensation committed to him by God, for he would not have those called Kings who are appointed under him; for King is his Name, and 'tis not lawful to call another so; in like manner we must not worship any but God alone.

alone.—— Honour the King; honour him by being well minded towards him, being ſubject to him, praying for him, for in ſo doing you obey the Will of God; for the Law of God ſaith, *My Son, Honour the King, and in nothing be diſobedient to them.*

Origen. upon *Rom.* 13. *v.* 1. *Omnis Anima*] &c. *Videtur mihi in hoc valdè laudabiliter animam nominaſſe, quam ſubjacere Poteſtatibus jubet; nunquam enim dixiſſet, omnis Spiritus ſubjaceat Poteſtati, ſed omnis Anima—— Nunc ergo, quoniam præcepta credentibus ponit Apoſtolus, vult nos quietem, quantum in nobis eſt, præſentis vitæ, pacemque ſervare, & ſiquidem tales ſumus qui conjuncti Domino unus cum eo ſpiritus ſimus, Domino dicimur eſſe ſubjecti. Si verò nondum tales ſumus, ſed communis adhuc Anima eſt in Nobis quæ habeat aliquid hujus Mundi, quæ ſit in aliquibus alligata Negotiis, huic præcepta Apoſtolus ponit, & dicit ut ſubjecta ſit Poteſtatibus Mundi, quia & Dominus dicit, ut hi qui habent in ſe Superſcriptionem Cæſaris, reddant Cæſari quæ ſunt Cæſaris——Qui verò habet aut pecuniam, aut poſſeſſiones, aut aliquid in Seculo, audiat, Omnis Anima Poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubjaceat, Non eſt Poteſtas niſi à Deo.*

Dicet fortasse aliquis, Quid ergo? Et illa Potestas quæ servos Dei persequitur, fidem impugnat, Religionem subvertit à Deo est? Ad hoc breviter respondebimus. Nemo est qui nesciat quod & Visus nobis à Deo donatus est, & Auditus & Sensus. Cùm ergo hæc à Deo in Potestate nostra sint, tamen uti Visu, vel ad bona, vel ad mala possumus: similiter & Auditu & Motu manuum & Cogitatione sensus, & in hoc justum Judicium Dei est, quod his, quod ad usus ille bonos dedit, nos abutimur ad impia & iniqua Ministeria; Ita ergo & Omnis potestas à Deo data est ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem vero bonorum sicut idem Apostolus in subsequentibus dicit. Erit autem justum Judicium Dei erga eos qui acceptam Potestatem secundum suas impietates, & non secundum Divinas temperant leges.

V. 4. *Ideoque Necessitate subditi &c.*] *Ordinat quidem per hæc* Paulus *Ecclesiam Dei, ut nihil adversi Principibus & Potestatibus seculi gerens, per quietem & tranquillitatem vitæ opus justitiæ & pietatis exerceat. Si enim ponamus, verbi gratiâ, credentes Christo Potestatibus seculi non esse subjectos, Tributa non reddere, nec vectigalia pensitare, nulli timorem, nulli honorem deferre, nonne per hæc Rectorum & Principum meritò*

ritò in ſemetipſos arma converterent, & perſecutores quidem ſuos excuſabiles, ſemetipſos verò culpabiles redderent? non enim jam fidei ſed contumaciæ causâ impugnari viderentur, et eſſe eis Cauſa quidem mortis, Meritum verò Mortis indignum; hæc ergo Paulus *per immenſam ſapientiam providens dicit.* Let every Soul *&c*] He ſeems to me very commendably to call that *Soul*, which he commanded to be ſubject to the Powers; for he could never have ſaid, let every Spirit be ſubject to the Power, but every Soul——Now therefore becauſe the Apoſtle does give Precepts to thoſe that believe, he would have us, as much as lies in our Power, preſerve the Peace and Quiet of this preſent Life; and if indeed we are ſuch who being conjoyned to the Lord are one Spirit with him, we are ſaid to be ſubject to the Lord. But if we are not ſuch as yet, but have a Common Soul in us, which does partake of the things of this World, which is bound in certain Affairs: to ſuch a one the Apoſtle gives theſe Commands, and ſaith, that it is to be ſubject to the Powers of the World; for the Lord alſo ſaith, that thoſe who have in them the Superſcription of *Cæſar* ſhould render to *Cæ-*

sar the things that are *Cæsar's*——He that hath either Money, or Possessions, or any thing in this World, let him hear this, Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers. But some will say, it may be; what, then, is that Power from God which persecutes the Servants of God, impugnes the Faith, and subverts Religion? To this we will answer briefly, There is none who is ignorant, that our Sight, our Hearing and our Senses are given us by God; when therefore these which are from God are in our Power, and yet we can make Use of our Sight either to Good or Evil, and so likewise our Hearing, and the Motion of our Hands, and the Perception of our Senses. And herein is the righteous Judgment of God, that those things he has given us for good Uses, we abuse to ungodly and unjust Operations; so therefore every Power is given by God to be an Avenger of Evil, and a Praise to those that do Good; as the Apostle does say in the following Words, the Judgment therefore of God will be just towards them who use their Power according to their own Wickedness, and not according to the Divine Law.

V. 4.

V. 4. Wherefore ye must needs be Subject] by these things St. *Paul* does set the Church in order, that it doing nothing in Opposition to the Princes and Powers of this World, might exercise the work of Justice and Piety, in Peace and Quietness of Life; for if we should suppose, for Example, that those that did believe in Christ, were not subject to the Powers of this World, would not render Tribute, pay Customs, nor shew Reverence and Honour to them; would they not justly stirr up the Arms of Princes against them, and make their Persecutors excusable, and bring all the Blame upon themselves? for they would not be punished for a matter of Faith, but for Contumacy; and there would be Cause why they should be put to Death, but such as it would be no Praise for them to suffer in.

Tertul. Apologet. c. 31. *Adulati nunc sumus Imperatori?* do we now flatter the Emperour? And having obviated that Pretence, let us hear what he tells us of the Duty that Christians owe to Kings and Emperours, and from whom they derive their Authority. *c.* 30. *Sciunt* [*Imperatores*] *quis illis dederit imperium*

um quà homines, quis & animam. Sentiunt enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius Potestate sunt, & quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes & super omnes Deos. Quidni? Cum super omnes Homines Emperours know who gave them their Empire, they know as men who gave them their Soul; for they understand it is God alone, in whose Power alone they are, from whom they are second, and after whom they are the first, before all and over all Gods. And why not? Seeing they are above all men. ——*Inde est Imperator unde & Homo antequam Imperator, inde Potestas unde & Spiritus.* The Emperour is from thence from whence the Man was before he was Emperour; from thence is his Power, from whence he has his Breath; [which is from God.]

Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus vitam illis prolixam, Imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque Hominis & Cæsaris nota sunt. We pray always for all Emperours, that they may have a long Life, a secure Empire, a safe House, valiant Armies, a faithful Senate, honest People, and a quiet World, and whatsoever

ſoever elſe are the Prayers which belong to a man, or to *Cæſar*.

Nos judicium Dei ſuſpicimus in Imperatoribus, qui Gentibus illos præfecit; id in eis ſcimus eſſe quod Deus voluit, ideoque & ſalvum volumus eſſe quod Deus voluit, & pro magno juramento habemus. We reverence the Judgment of God in the Emperours, who have ſet them over the Nations; we know that to be in them which God wills, Therefore we deſire that may be ſafe which God wills to be ſo, and we account it a Great Oath. For Chriſtians were wont to ſwear, *ita Nobis ſalvus ſit Cæſar, ita incolumis regnet.* Cap. 32.

Sed quid ego amplius de Religione & pietate Chriſtianâ in Imperatorem? quem neceſſe eſt ſuſpiciamus ut eum quem Dominus noſter elegit, ut meritò dixerim noſter eſt magis Cæſar ut à noſtro Deo conſtitutus. But why do I ſay any more of our Religion and Chriſtian Piety toward the Emperour? whom we muſt of Neceſſity reverence as him whom God has choſen, that I may deſervedly ſay *Cæſar* is more peculiarly ours [than the Pagans] becauſe he is conſtituted by our God, [and not by the Gods of the Pagans, which are nothing.] Cap. 33.

Ter-

Tertul. ad Scapulam. *Colimus Imperatorem sic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipsi expedit, ut Hominem à Deo secundum, & quicquid est à Deo consecutum, & solo Deo minorem; hoc & ipse volet; sic enim omnibus major, dum solo vero Deo minor.* We so worship the Emperour as it is lawful for Us, and expedient for Him, as a man that is the second from God, and one that has received from God whatsoever he has, and inferiour to none but God. This is God's Will; so he is greater than all men, while he is inferiour to the true God alone.

Hosius the President of the Councel of *Nice*, *Epist. ad Constant. Arian. apud Athanasium. ad Solit. vitam agentes.* ——σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐπεχείρισεν, ἡμῖν τὰ τ ἐκκλησίας ἐπίτρεψε, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ τ σὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπισκοπῶν ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ θεῷ. ὕτω φοβήθητι, μὴ καὶ σὺ τὰ τ ἐκκλησίας εἰς σεαυτὸν ἕλκων ὑπόδυνον ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ γένῃ. Ἀπόδοτε γέγραπται τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τῦ θεῦ τῷ θεῷ· ὅτε τοίνυν ἄρχειν ὅπι τ γῆς ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν, ὅτε σὺ τῦ θυμιᾶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις βασιλεῦ. God has given the Kingdom into your hands, and committed the things of the Church unto us; and as he that does usurp your Government does contradict God who ap-

appointed you, ſo do you take Heed leſt by drawing the things which are proper to the Church to your own ſelf, you become lyable to great Blame. It is written, *Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*, and *to God the things that are* God's; therefore it is not lawful for Us to take the Government of the Earth, Neither have you, O King, Power to offer Incenſe. [that is, To perform the Prieſtly Office in offering up publick Prayers, and Adminiſtring of Sacraments, which are the Chriſtian Incenſe.

Ambroſ. *in* Lucam *lib.* 4. *c.* 5. *Si enim Cenſum filius Dei ſolvit, quis tu tantus es, qui putas non eſſe ſolvendum?* If the Son of God did pay Tribute, who are you that are ſo great as to think you ought not to pay?

Lib. 10. *c.* 20. *Si tu non vis obnoxius eſſe Cæſari, noli habere quæ Mundi ſunt; ſed ſi habeas Divitias, obnoxius es Cæſari.* If you will not be under the Power of *Cæſar*, do not poſſeſs the things of this World; but if you have Riches you are under the Authority of *Cæſar*.

Idem Orat. contra Auxentium. Si Tributum petit Imperator, non negamus [*Clerici*] *ſi agros deſiderat Imperator, nemo noſtrûm*

ſtrûm intervenit. If the Emperour does demand Tribute, we [Clergy-men] do not deny it; if he does deſire our Lands, none of us does interpoſe.

Lib. 5. *Ad Auxen. dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere, adverſus arma, Milites, Gothos; Lachrymæ meæ Arma mea ſunt, talia enim ſunt Munimenta Sacerdotis, aliter nec debeo nec poſſum reſiſtere.* I can grieve, I can weep, I can mourn againſt their Arms, againſt the Souldiers, againſt the *Goths*; theſe are the Safeguards of a Prieſt, otherwiſe I may not, I cannot reſiſt.

Ibid. Quòd ſi objiciant quod defenſionem ab iis requiram [*pauperibus ſcilicet*] *non nego, ſed ambio; habeo defenſionem, ſed in Orationibus Pauperum.* But if they object that I require Defence from them [the Poor] I do not deny it, but I am ambitious of it; and I have a Defence, but it is in the Prayers of the Poor.

Innocent. 1. *Epiſt.* 3. *ad Exuper. c.* 3. *Meminerint enim à Deo poteſtates has fuiſſe conceſſas, & propter vindictam noxiorum gladium fuiſſe permiſſum, & Dei Miniſtrum eſſe datum in hujuſmodi vindicem; quomodo ergo reprehenderent factum quod Authore Deo viderent eſſe conceſſum?* They muſt remember that theſe [Secular]

lar] Powers are given by God, and the Sword is permitted to them for Vengeance againſt Perſons that do Hurt; and that the Miniſter of God is given to be an Avenger: how then can they reprehend that Fact which they ſee is allowed by God? *Auguſt. lib.* 5. *Civitat. Dei c.* 21. *Non tribuamus dandi Regni vel Imperii poteſtatem niſi vero Deo, qui dat felicitatem in Regno Cœlorum ſolis piis, Regnum verò terrenum & piis & impiis, ſicut ei placet, cui nihil injuſtè placet. Qui Mario* [*regnum dedit*] *ipſe & Caio Cæſari; qui Auguſto, ipſe & Neroni; qui* Veſpaſiano *vel Patri vel Filio ſuaviſſimis Imperatoribus, ipſe* Domitiano *crudeliſſimo; & ne per ſingulos ire neceſſum ſit, qui* Conſtantino *Chriſtiano, ipſe & Apoſtatæ Juliano——hæc planè unus & verus Deus regit & gubernat ut placet, etſi occultis cauſis non injuſtis.* Let us not attribute the Power of Giving a Kingdom or Empire to any, but to the true God alone, who beſtows the happineſs of the Kingdom of Heaven only on the Godly. but an earthly Kingdom on good and bad, as it pleaſeth him, who is pleaſed with nothing that is unjuſt, ——he that gave the Kingdom to *Marius*, gave it alſo to *Caius Cæſar*; he who gave

gave it to *Augustus*, gave it to *Nero*. He that gave it to *Vespatian* both Father and Son, who were most gentle Princes, gave it to *Domitian* a most cruel Tyrant: And, that I may not run over all, He that gave it to *Constantine* a Christian, gave it also to *Julian* an Apostate. ——These things the only true God does rule and govern as it pleaseth him, although for Causes that are hidden, yet never for any that are unjust.

Optat. Milev. *lib.* 3. *ad* Parmen. *Cùm super Imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem, dum se* Donatus *super Imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat metas, ut se, ut Deum non hominem æstimaret, non verendo eum qui post Deum ab hominibus timebatur.* Since there is no Superiour to the Emperour but God alone, while *Donatus* does extoll himself above the Emperour, now he had, as it were, exceeded the Bounds of men, that he did esteem himself as God, and not as man, in not reverencing Him who next after God is feared by men.

Epiphan. Heres. 40. *contr. Archont.* after he has set down the four first Verses of *Rom.* 13. He adds, καὶ ὁρᾶς ὡς ἐξουσία

αὐτὴ

αὐτὴ ἡ κοσμικὴ ἐκ θεοῦ τέτακται, καὶ μαχαίρας ἔλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν. οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν δὲ πόθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ, εἰς ἐκδίκησιν — καὶ τούτου χάριν εἰσὶν ἐξουσίαι, ἵνα εἰς εὔτακτον σύνταξιν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου διοικήσεως, τὰ πάντα ἐκ θεοῦ καλῶς καταταχθῇ καὶ οἰκονομηθῇ. You see how the Secular Power is ordained by God, and has received the Power of the Sword, not any where else but from God, for Revenge. --- And for this Cause are the Powers, that all things might be well ordered and disposed by God, for the orderly Constitution of the Administration of the whole World.

Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 17. Ὑποτασσώμεθα καὶ θεῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἄρχουσι. θεῷ διὰ πάντα, διὰ τὴν φιλαδελφίαν ἀλλήλοις, δι' εὐτάξιαν τοῖς ἄρχουσι. καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳπερ ἂν ᾦσιν ἡμερότεροι καὶ χρηστότεροι — ἔστι καὶ τοῦτος εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων, καὶ τοῦτος τῶν ἐπαινουμένων, καὶ κάλλιστα διατεταγμένων τῷ πνεύματι, τὸ δυνατὸν μὴ τοῦ καλοῦ δοκιμάσαντι καὶ νομοθετήσαντι, ὥσπερ δούλους ὑπακούειν δεσπόταις, καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι, καὶ κυρίῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μαθητὰς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις. οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάσαις ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν, ὡς ὑποτελεῖς φόρου τυγχάνοντας καὶ μὴ κακοποιοῦντας μισεῖν τὸν νόμον, μηδ' ἀναμένειν τὴν μά-

χαιραν,

χαίρειαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φόβῳ καθαιρομένους ἐπαινεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας.

Let us be subject to God, to one another, and to the Rulers of the Earth: to God, for all things; to one another, for Brotherly Love Sake; and to Rulers, for good Orders sake; and so much the more by how much they are more Gentle and Good.——This also is one of our Laws, and that approved of, and excellently well ordained by the Spirit, who does approve that which is good, and gives Commands, as to Servants to obey their Masters, Wives their Husbands, the Church the Lord, Disciples their Rulers and Masters: So to be subject to all lawful Powers, not only for Wrath but for Conscience sake, paying Tribute, not as evil Doers hateing the Law, neither waiting for the Sword, but being brought to Obedience through Reverence they may receive Praise of the Powers.

Chrysost. in Rom. 13. Δεικνὺς ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται, καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ μονάχοις, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον, ἐκ προοιμίων αὐτὸ δῆλον ἐποίησεν οὕτω λέγων. Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. κἂν ἀπόστολος ἦς, κἂν εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν προφήτης, κἂν ὁστισοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνατρέπει τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπο-

ὑποταγὴν· ὥστε ὁ ἀνυπόταστος μένει τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν.—ὅτι ὁ μὴ ὑπακούων ἀκείνῳ, τῷ Θεῷ πολεμεῖ τῷ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντι· καὶ τοῦτο σαφηνίζει δεῖξαι παντα-χῆ, ὅτι ἃ χαριζόμεθα αὐτοῖς τιμὴν ὑπακοήν, ἀλλὰ ὀφείλομεν· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἴδῃς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μάλλον ἐπιτάττοντα τῷ Θεῷ δουλεύειν, καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπακοήν.——μὴ τοίνυν αἰσχύνῃ, φησὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ταπεινώσει, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ σφόδρα ἐστὶ τιμωρὸς καὶ ἀφρονημένων τούτων, ἃ γὰρ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἂν ἀπαιτήσειν δίκαιον παρακούσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφάξαι μέγιστον καὶ ὕβρει ἂν ἐξαιρήσεται ἀντιλέγοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ ταπείνωσιν τιμωρίαν χαλεπὴν ἔστιν, καὶ ὕβρεις τὴν περιστέλλει, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν παροξύνεις μείζονως· ὅπερ ἅπαντα ἀπεφύγομεν, ἔλεγεν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήψονται. The Apostle shewing, that he gives these Commands to all men, to Priests and to Monks, and not to secular Persons only, he makes it manifest from the very Entrance, saying, Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, although thou art an Apostle, although thou art an Evangelist, although thou art a Prophet, or whosoever else thou art; for this Subjection does not overthrow Piety, wherefore, whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of

God;— for he that does not obey that does fight againſt God who appointed it. And this he endeavours to ſhew every where, that our Obedience is not a voluntary Offering, but a Duty; for by this Means he would draw thoſe Governours that are Infidels, unto Piety; and thoſe that are faithful, to Obedience; be not then aſhamed of ſuch Subjection, for it is God that has commanded it, and he is a ſevere Avenger of all that deſpiſe them; for you ſhall not ſuffer an ordinary Puniſhment if you diſobey, but a very great one; and nothing ſhall deliver you if you reſiſt, but you ſhall undergo the ſevereſt Puniſhment of men, and no one ſhall ſtand in your Behalf; and you will provoke God much more; all which things he intimated when he ſaid, they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.

Theodoret. in Rom. 13. Let every Soul be ſubject &c.] Εἴτε ἱερεύς τίς ἐστιν, εἴτε ἀρχιερεύς, εἴτε τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐπαγγελλόμενος τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς πεπιστευμένοις εἰκέτω. —— οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία, &c. --- καὶ ταῦτα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προμηθείας ἐξήρτηται. αὐτὸς γὰρ τῆς κοινῆς προμηθούμενος εὐταξίας, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ὠκονόμησεν, οἷόν τινα χαλινὸν τοῖς ἀδι-

κοῦσι

κῦσι τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ δέος περιτιθείς.— εὐμενὴς μέντοι ὤν, δίδωσιν ἄρχοντας τιμῶντας τὸ δίκαιον. δώσω γὰρ αὐτοῖς, φησὶ, ποιμένας κατὰ καρδίαν μου, καὶ ποιμανοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες μετ' ἐπιστήμης [*Jer.* 3.] καὶ πάλιν δώσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον, καὶ τοὺς συμβούλους σου ὡς τὸ ἀπαρχῆς. παιδεῦσαι δὲ πλημμελοῦντας βουλόμενος, καὶ παρὰ πονηρῶν ἀρχόντων ἄρχεσθαι συγχωρεῖ. ἐπιστήσω γάρ, φησι, νεανίσκους ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμπαίκτας κυριεύσουσιν αὐτῶν· ἀνάγκη οὖν &c. ὀργὴν γὰρ τιμωρίαν καλεῖ· δι' ἀμφότερα δὲ ὑποτετάχθαι κελεύει. διά τε τὸ δέος τῆς τιμωρίας, καὶ διὰ τὸ πληροῦν τὰ προσήκοντα, τοῦτο γὰρ συνείδησιν προσηγόρευσε. Whether he be a Prieſt, or the chief Prieſt, or whether, he be a Monk, let him obey thoſe that are ſet with Principality over them. For there is no Power but of God] and all theſe things depend upon the Providence of God, for he does provide for the good Order of the Community, he has appointed ſome to rule, and ſome to be governed, and has put the Fear of Governours as a certain Bridle to thoſe that do evil.---When God is well pleaſed, he ſends Governours that will honour that which is good; I will give them, ſaith he, Shepheards after mine own Heart, who ſhall feed them

with Knowledge, *Jer.* 3. 15. Again, I will give you Judges as at the first, and Counsellors as at the Beginning. But when he would punish Sinners, he gives Way for evil Governours to rule, I will set young men Governours, and mockers shall rule over you.— You must needs be subject, not only for Wrath] for he calls Wrath Punishment; he commands men to be Subject for both Reasons, not only for Fear of Punishment, but to fulfill that which is meet; for this he calls Conscience.

Gregor. Mag. Regist. *lib.* 2. *Epist.* 62. Ad Imperatorem *Mauric. Ego quidem Jussioni subjectus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci, & quia lex ipsa Omnipotenti Deo minimè concordat, Ecce per Suggestionis meæ paginam serenissimis Dominis nunciavi. Ubique ergo quæ debui exsolvi, qui & Imperatori Obedientiam præbui, & pro Deo quod sensi minimè tacui.* I being subject to your Command, have caused that Law to be transmitted through divers Parts of the Earth, and because the Law it self does not agree with the Will of Almighty God, I have declared so much to the Serene Lords by my Suggestion; therefore I have every way performed

my

my Duty, who have yielded Obedience to the Emperour, and have not held my Peace in what I thought convenient for the Honour of God.

Idem lib. 4. Regist. Epist. 34. ad Imperatricem. *Vestra itaq; pietas quam omnipotens Deus cum serenissimo Domino universo mundo præesse constituit, illi per favorem justitiæ famulatum suum reddat, à quo jus tantæ potestatis accepit, ut quantò verius in executione veritatis auctori omnium servit, tantò securius commisso sibi mundo dominetur.* Let your Piety, whom, with your most serene Lord, Almighty God hath appointed to govern the whole World, render to him your Service by favouring Justice, from whom it hath received the Right of so great Power; that by how much more truely it does serve the Author of all things in the Execution of Truth: it may so much more securely rule over the World that is committed to it.

Sanctus Bernard. *ad Archiep.* Senonen. *Omnis Anima Potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit; si omnis, & vestra: quis vos excepit ab hac universalitate? Si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere.* Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; if every Soul, then yours must be so

too; who has excepted you from that Universality? He that goes about to except, endeavours to deceive. Add to all these the second Canon of the tenth Councel of *Toledo*. *Qui contra salutem Principum, gentis, aut patriæ aliquid machinatur, ab Episcopo usq; ad extremum ordinis Clericorum aut Monacorum, mox omni dignitate & honore privetur.* Whosoever does devise any thing against the Safety of Princes, of their Nation or Country, from the Bishop to the lowest Order of the Clergy or Monks, let him be deprived of all Honour and Dignity.

It were easie to carry the same Doctrine through all Ages of the Church, and to produce the Testimonies of many of the ablest Schoolmen and Divines of the Romish Communion, to the same Purpose, with innumerable others drawn from the Articles, Confessions and Writings of those pious and orthodox Divines, who have protested against the Corruptions of the Roman Church; especially from the Articles and Canons of the Church of *England*, and the Writings of our learned Bishops, and other eminent Defenders of our Church. But these shall suffice for the Present, and they are enough to convince any sober

ſober man, that the ancient Chriſtians did never dream that either the Pope or the People did give Kings their Authority, or had any Power to depoſe them, and Authoriſe their Subjects to take up Arms againſt them, with or without their Authority; much leſs to ſet up others in their ſtead, or reſerve their Power in their own hands; but did believe, that their Authority and Power is wholly from God, and therefore muſt be obeyed according to his Ordinance; and that they never can be depoſed either by the Pope or People, or any other Authority upon Earth.

CHAP. III.

Hereticks not to be put to Death.

HAving ſeen what the Senſe of the Church has been concerning the Authority of Supreme Powers, that they derive it from God, and are ſubject to no earthly Judge, ſo as to be depoſed, or ſo much as called to Account for Miſcarriages in their Government; let us conſider what Authority they have

have over their Subjects concerning Religion; for many, though they maintain the Dignity of the ſupreme Power to be inviolable, yet they aſcribe to them a Right of Puniſhing their Subjects with Death, merely upon the Account of Religion and Difference in Opinion. This was the Cruelty of the Counſel of *Conſtance*, towards *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, and this was the Severity that *Calvin* procured againſt *Servetus*. The Conſequence whereof muſt needs be the Effuſion of much innocent Blood; and we have found that oftner men have been put to Death for the Truth, than they have for heretical Doctrines and Opinions. Therefore Chriſtianity has enacted no ſuch Laws; it does indeed require all men to obſerve the Commands of the New Teſtament, but it no where does oblige Governours to puniſh, with Death, thoſe that will not obey them. As it does not diminiſh the Right of Civil Powers in any thing that concerns the Peace and Security of the State, but leaves them to their former Rules and Sanctions; ſo it does not give them Leave to draw their Sword upon any other Account but the temporal Safety and

Grot. vot. pro pace ad Art. 1.

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Defence. If therefore factious Spirits, under Pretence of Religion, do raise Tumults, and make Disorder in the State, contrary to the publick Peace, they may be punished with Death as well as other seditious Offenders: but if men live peaceably and quietly, and conform to all Orders necessary for the Support of the State, they ought not to be put to Death, though they are not conformable in all Opinions, neither observe the establish'd Religion thereof. This is evident from our Saviour's Words to his Disciples when they moved him to call for Fire from Heaven, whereby he reproved their Rashness, telling them, they *knew not what manner of Spirit they were of*; and the same is further confirmed by the Parable of the Tares, when the Question was asked, *wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? but he said nay, lest while ye gather up the Tares, ye root up also the Wheat with them, let them both grow together untill the Harvest; now the Harvest is the end of the World, and the Reapers are the Angels, and They are to burn them*, but no Body else. Upon which words St. *Chrysostom* saith, τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγε κωλύων πολέμους γίνεσθαι καὶ αἵματα, καὶ σφαγάς. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἀναρεῖν αἱρετικὸν, ἐπεὶ πολε-

Luk. 9. 55.

Mat. 13. 28, 29, 30.

πολεμὸς ἄσπονδος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔμελλεν εἰσάγεσθαι. This he said, forbidding Wars and Shedding of Blood, and Slaughter to be made; for we must not put Hereticks to death, for by that means an implacable War would be brought into the World [as we see at this Day to our great Sorrow and Danger] St. *Chrysostom* goes on, οὐ τοίνυν κατέχειν αἱρετικοὺς καὶ ἐπιστομίζειν καὶ ἐκκόπτειν αὐτῶν τὴν παῤῥησίαν καὶ τὰς συνόδους καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διαλύειν κωλύει, ἀλλ' ἀναιρεῖν καὶ κατασφάττειν. He does not forbid us to restrain them, to stop their Mouths, to hinder their Boldness, and to dissolve their Synods, Conventicles, and Confederacies, but to kill and butcher them.

Vide etiam Tertul. adv. Judæos c. 3. *Tertullian* before him had said *nova non se vindicat ultore gladio*, the new Law doth not revenge it self with Death. And the Author of the Constitutions under the name of *Clement*, tells us that Christ, τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀφῆκεν ἐλεύθερον, οὐ προσκαίρῳ θανάτῳ δικάζων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑτέρᾳ καταστάσει λογοθετῶν, *left men the Freedom of their Will, not punishing it with temporal Death, but calling them to an Account in the other World.* St.

Epist. 158. & 159. *Augustine* likewise, the great Father and Master of the Latin Schools, agrees with St.

St. *Chryſoſtom* the moſt renouned of the *Grecian* Doctors, That Hereticks and Schiſmaticks ought to be puniſhed and diſcouraged and their Factious Conventicles and Aſſemblies to be rooted out, but their Perſons ought not to be deſtroyed or put to Death, *Pœna ſanè illorum quamvis de tantis ſceleribus confeſſorum, rogo te ut præter ſupplicium mortis & propter conſcientiam noſtram, & propter Catholicam manſuetudinem commendandam.* *I beſeech you* [ſpeaking of the Schiſmatical Donatiſts] *let their Puniſhment be leſs than Death, though they confeſs themſelves guilty of ſo great wickedneſs, both for Conſcience ſake, and that we may commend the Gentleneſs of the Catholicks.* And ſpeaking of the Manichees he ſeems to inſinuate a Reaſon of his Opinion. *Illi in vos ſæviant qui nullo tali errore decepti ſunt, quali vos deceptos vident, ego autem ſævire in vos non poſſum, quos ſicut meipſum illo tempore ita nunc debeo ſuſtinere, & tanta patientiâ vobiſcum agere quantâ mecum egerunt proximi mei cùm in veſtro dogmate rabioſus & cæcus errarem.* *Let them put you to Death that were never deceived with the like Error wherewith they ſee you are deceived, but I cannot be altogether ſo ſevere againſt you,*

whom

whom I ought ſo to bear withal *now, as I did with my ſelf another time, and to ſuffer you with the ſame Patience wherewith my Neighbours did endure me, when I was mad and blind with your erroneous Doctrine:* Whereby he ſeems to intimate, that if they had put him to Death, then he might have periſhed in Body and Soul too; but by being permitted to live, and ſearch further into things, he became a glorious Light to others, and all after-Ages have Reaſon to bleſs God, that he was not put to Death for his Error. And hence we underſtand the meaning of thoſe words of our Lord's when he would not permit his Servants to gather up the Tares, leſt while ye gather up the Tares ye root up the Wheat with them; that is, they may indeed pull up ſome that are Tares, and always will be Tares, but they may alſo pull up ſome that now perhaps are Tares, but if they be permitted to grow, may become good Wheat, as St. *Auguſtine* did. And to that End you ſee the Church very well approves of other Puniſhments to make men conſider and ſeek after the Truth, but it did never teach, that they ought to be cut off in their Error, but rather deſire that they might

Vide Chryſoſt. in locum.

might live to ſee and amend it. So that the Caſe of Hereticks is far different from Felons and Traytors, for they may err for want of Judgment and right Underſtanding, and moſt commonly do ſo, (though they fall into it by their own Pride or Negligence) but the others commit things which they at the ſame time, and all Mankind beſides confeſs are wicked, and unlawful, and do finally tend to the Taking away of other mens Lives, and therefore they ought juſtly to loſe their own. And as for that Objection, That though a mere Heretick does not breed any Diſturbance to deſtroy mens Bodies or Eſtates, yet he does go about to deſtroy their Souls, which is a farr more dangerous Murder, and becomes a Traytor to Heaven, which is the worſt ſort of Treaſon: I anſwer; 'tis far more reaſonable therefore that he ſhould live to ſee his Error, and reform it, and ſo ſave his Soul, and repent of his Sin againſt God, than to periſh eternally in his Miſtake. And then, the Murder that he will commit upon the Souls of others by propagating his Opinion, may be prevented by other Remedies, as Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or ſome other Reſtraint which the

the Church does approve of and direct. And yet farther when the Church had the Favour of Chriſtian Emperours ſo far as to obtain ſeveral general Councils to determine their Doubts and Controverſies, and to condemn all heretical Doctrines and Teachers, they did then deprive thoſe of their Biſhopricks that would not aſſent to the Catholick Faith, and move the Emperours ſometimes to baniſh them, and hinder the Propagation of their Errors; but we do not read they did ever excite them to put them to Death; it was always the part of the Devil's Inſtruments to propagate his Kingdom by ſuch cruel and unnatural Ways. Thus *Athanaſius* does complain, the *Arrians* did uſe the Catholicks after a moſt barbarous manner, murdering all that ſtood in their Way, and by other cruel Torments drive them to their Party. St. *Hillary* likewiſe does lay the ſame to their Charge; any one may ſee their Cruelties deſcribed at large in *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, and *Procopius*. The ſame we may read of the *Donatiſts* and *Circumcelliones* in St. *Auguſtine*, and of the *Eutychians* in the ſecond Council of *Epheſus*, called *Epheſinum latrocinium*, who murdered

Atha. ep. ad ſol. vitam agentes.

Orat. ad Conſtant.

murdered *Flavianus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, as the Rebels in *England* did Arch-biſhop *Lawd*, and the late Rebels in *Scotland* the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*; but no Hiſtories do tell us that the Catholicks did ever approve of, or exerciſe ſuch capital Puniſhments againſt mere Diſſenters in Religion. Nay *Sulpitius Severus* does relate, that *Idacius* and *Ithaſius* did endeavour to ſtir up the Magiſtrates to Execution of Hereticks, thereby to ſuppreſs their Impiety; but adds, *parum ſanis Conſiliis*, it was very ill Counſel; and then ſaith, but both the Guilty and the Accuſers do diſpleaſe me; and after tells us, that *Martinus* being at *Triers*, did not ceaſe to reprehend *Ithaſius*, that he might deſiſt from ſuch Accuſation, and did intreat *Maximus* that he would abſtain from Shedding the Blood of thoſe unfortunate men, ſaying, it was abundantly ſufficient, that the Hereticks were condemned by the Sentence of the Biſhops, and driven away from their Church. But becauſe ſome do alledge the 149*th*. Pſalm for Putting to Death upon the Account of Religion, I will add, for farther Satisfaction herein, St. *Hierom*'s Comment upon it, the two

Vid. acta Concil. Cal. 118. & *liberat. Bren. lib.* 2. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

edged Sword is the Word of his Doctrine. O that I had that two edged Sword, that I might take Vengeance on the Nations, that I might kill the Nations, that I might kill *Arius*, *Eunomius*, *Manichæus*, and all Hereſies! And ſee what he ſaith, that *he might be avenged of the Heathens*, is, that they may be killed and periſh. That he does not ſay---they do tye, they do not ſlay; they do not kill, but bind: they bind their Hands and lead them captive to the Church with iron Manacles, thoſe Chains are not made but out of the Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, whilſt I joyn Teſtimony to Teſtimony: If you would that theſe Chains ſhould not be broken, let them not be ſingle, but twiſted together; for a threefold Bond is not broken. Whether this be the proper Meaning of the Pſalm I will not diſpute, but 'tis plain, St. *Jerom* does not think it can be extended to give Authority to put Hereticks to Death, and does ſeem to condemn all ſuch Practices; whereſoever therefore theſe bloody Doctrines are taught and practiſed, they ought to be condemned and taken away; as contrary to the Word of God, contrary to the Senſe of the Church, and ſuch as will

will fill Christendome with Massacres and Conspiracies, and expose our Religion to the Contempt of Turks and Infidels, and make them hate the very Name of Christian, as teaching men to be barbarous and inhumane to one another; and whersoever Christian Magistrates have been stirred up by Schismatical Spirits to punish those with Death that have been otherwise peaceable and subject to the Government, and only differing in other Points of Religion, they most commonly have found it either fatal to themselves or Government; therefore they would do well to remember that Advice, *Fathers provoke not your Children to Wrath*, and not to inflict greater Punishments than the Word of God, and the Christian Religion did ever allow. Let not any then hearken to the Atheistical Insinuations of some Politicians and Pretenders to Philosophy, that say, Religion is the Cause of these Murders and Confusions which they find recorded in modern Histories, upon which they found these Aphorisms; they are to take Notice, it is not Religion, but Faction and worldly Interest carried on under the Pretence of Religion, that does prompt men to

Ephes. 6. 4.

all theſe Miſchiefs and Effuſion of Blood, which is as contrary to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, as it is to the Law of Nature; for if they were as well read in the Hiſtories of the Church, as they are in other Writers, they would find all ſuch Practices condemned, both in Princes and People, and only uſed by Hereticks and Schiſmaticks againſt the ſame Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP. IV.

Schiſm the Ground of this Miſchief, and Papiſts guilty thereof.

THE Church then being fully vindicated from any Guilt or Concurrence in the matter, let us conſider from whence this deadly Poyſon does take its Beginning. Now as moſt Wickedneſſes in Chriſtianity are firſt founded in Schiſme, ſo Schiſme has been the poyſonous Root from whence all this Venome did derive it ſelf; for it is the Nature of Sin to multiply, neither can it ever propagate and maintain it's Ground,

Ground, but by running into new Miſchiefs and Enormities. Thus, to conceal Lying, many are hurried on to Perjury, and to cover over Theft they are often tempted to Murder; ſo when men have headily engaged themſelves in a Schiſme, and are reſolv'd to defend it, they find Rebels and Treaſons and outward Violence the neceſſary Means to ſupport their Cauſe.

That I may (therefore) give the true Original of this Schiſme, which has produced ſo much Bloodſhed in the Chriſtian Church, I muſt give you a ſhort Account of the Church's Conſtitution, according to the Order of Chriſt, and univerſal Tradition, which was by ſending forth twelve Apoſtles with equal Authority to plant the Goſpel, to ordain Paſtors, and found Churches, and to preſcribe Rules how they ſhould act in future Ages (when They were dead) in adminiſtring all Divine Offices; ruleing their ſeveral Charges, in ſettling and compoſing Differences, and in preſerving Peace and Unity in the Church. Theſe Rules in general are laid down in Scripture, and particular Directions from thence are by Tradition deliver'd down by the Apoſtles, and afterward

confirmed by the Canons and Decrees of the general and other particular Councels confirmed by them, and accepted by the whole Church. The Subſtance of which Canons is, that all particular Churches, while they did conform to the Church Univerſal, were to ordain Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; to end all Controverſies and Diſputes amongſt themſelves, and to make Laws and Conſtitutions for their own Peace and Settlement, without Appeal to any Judicature (whilſt yet they were unguarded with the Aid of Chriſtian Kings and Princes, and afterwards with their Authority and Conſent) unleſs the matter was ſo great that the whole Church was concern'd in the Difference, and then Recourſe was to be had to a general Councel, which the Apoſtles did direct by their own Example, *Act.* 15. for when one of them alone, by his ſingle Authority could have ended the Controverſie, yet becauſe that infallible Spirit was not to continue in after-ages, they gave us a Pattern how to proceed in times to come by way of a general Councel, which the Church did ever after practiſe as there was Occaſion. And this was the only Judici-

al

al Method obſerved in the Church, when Differences could not be ended amongſt particular Churches by themſelves. I confeſs likewiſe, by way of Advice and Conſultation there was Application made ſometimes to other Churches, and to great Biſhops, and amongſt others principally to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which was the Occaſion of thoſe Letters, which now modern times have called Decretical Epiſtles, and forced upon ſome Parts of the World to juſtle out the Church's Canons. And this was the Beginning and Root of all this Schiſme and Miſchief under which the Chriſtians do this day ſuffer: for while the former Method was obſerved, and the Canons and Laws of the Church were in Force, all Differences were ended, and Schiſms ſuppreſſed as faſt as they did ariſe; but the *Italians*, not contenting themſelves within theſe Bounds, ſought an Empire under the Chriſtian Polity, as well as under the Heathen Government. And after the Imperial Seat was removed to *Conſtantinople*, they never left off plotting to confound the Government, till they had erected the Mitre above the Crown, and made the Secular State to truckle

under the Eccleſiaſtical, and become wholly at the Diſpoſal of the Pope.

This was not effected all on a ſudden, but by ſeveral Steps and Degrees they did aſcend to this Height, but all along Schiſm and Confuſion was the unhappy Mother that nurſed up this infamous Brat, to the great Scandal and Diſhonour of Religion. So that nothing but Ambition and Pride is at the Bottom of all this Wickedneſs, and they have by long Experience found the Sweet of Dominion and Rule, and now they uſe all Crafts and Devices to ſupport themſelves in this Pomp and Grandure, for all the By-controverſies are not of themſelves thought of ſuch Moment, but as they are the neceſſary Means and Engines to uphold their Greatneſs and Deſigns. Thus Image-worſhip, Invocation of Saints, Pilgrimages, Erection of Shrines, Indulgences, Diſpenſations *&c.* as they are uſed in the Church of *Rome*, ſerve to bring in vaſt Treaſure, to maintain the Court of *Rome*, and nouriſh ſo many Monks and Friers, and they by their Exemptions depending wholly upon the Pope, are a ſtanding Army for him in all Countries where they are, and upon

all

all Occasions are ready to mutiny against the Kings and Bishops, and stir up the People to joyn with the Pope against them, and so the Papacy and they do mutually uphold one another; and should there be any Attempt made to reduce things to the Canons of the Church, and so cast off those Abuses, which in latter times have been found necessary to secure the present Faction, the Papal Grandure would necessarily tumble with them. So that whatsoever Pretence they make to Antiquity, and Taking the Catholick Church for their Guide, all is but vain Ostentation, they can never subsist upon those ancient Foundations, their Babel-structure is not erected upon that Bottom, but has other artificial and counterfeit Pillars to rest upon. Things are brought to this pass amongst them, that the *Roman* Church must be all one with the Catholick Church, an Occidental Councel must be esteemed a general Council, and not to acknowledge Subjection to the Pope is a sure Mark of an Heretick, all which are most repugnant to the Churches Laws, and are meer politick Inventions to make all Nations truckle under the People of *Rome*.

Now

Now then let us consider the Mischief of this wicked Shisme, if it did proceed to no other Crimes, whereas Love and Unity and mutual Communion and Agreement are the very fundamental Principle of Christianity, and the very Bond that tyes Christs Disciples together and the Characteristical Badge by which they are distinguished; here has for many hundred Years together, been caused such a Breach that all Intercourse and Communion amongst Christian Churches is taken away, and Persons, merely for doing their Duty, and living in Obedience to the Laws of the Church have been accounted Hereticks, at least thrown out of the Number of Christ's Flock, and reckoned without all Possibility and Hopes of Salvation, unless they will forsake their own Pastors and adhere to a Foreign Power, contrary to the Decrees of the General Councils and the whole Current of the Church of God.

These things being very palpable and gross, other Policies were thought of how to secure their Possession, and they were not wanting from the first Begin-

ginning of the Faction; for as it began under * *Phocas*, who barbarouſly murdered the Emperour *Mauritius*, after he had inhumanly killed his Children before his Face, that he might ſhew the greater Cruelty, and took Effect, chiefly by cauſing a Diviſion in the Empire under *Charles* the Great, and ſetling the Weſtern Empire upon him, thereby rending it from its proper Sovereign; ſo the better to ſupport it ſelf it did crumble and divide this Weſtern Empire, and made it ſo obnoxious to the Court of *Rome*, that it could never ſecure it ſelf in Peace but by her Conjunction, who could at any time diſturb it when all things were not carried on according to her Deſire. And the better to keep Princes in Awe, and perpetually at her Devotion, ſhe broaches another Doctrine; that, as the Government of the Church, ſo the Diſpoſing of Kingdomes was alſo committed to the Pope. Whereupon Kings and Emperours were ſaid to be but Creatures that ſubſiſt by his Authority, and could therefore be depoſed and deprived

* *Paulus Wanfredus Hiſt. Long. Cur. lib. 4. cap 37. Phocas extincto Mauricio ejuſque filiis, regnum invadens, Rogante Papâ Bonifacio, Statuit ſedem Romanæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ caput eſſe omnium Eccleſiarum, quia Eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana primam ſe omnium Eccleſiarum ſcribebat. Platina & Caranza*, in the Life of *Boniface* the third, ſay the ſame.

ved of their Dominions if they did not obey him who was their Supreme Lord and Master, in all his Precepts and Commands. Accordingly the *Popes*, from *Gregory* the seventh, did practise upon several Princes, and by Stirring up the People, did force their Sentence of Deposition to take Place; and to give the better Countenance to their Authority herein, they did ordain Canons to this Purpose, which were either by Fraud or Violence imposed upon the World. I will name two which at this time stand in the Canon Law; the first above four hundred Years, bearing the Title of a Canon of a General Councel in the *Roman* Church. *Si verò Dominus temporalis requisitus & monitus ab Ecclesia suam terram purgare neglexerit ab hæretica fœditate---significetur hoc summo Pontifici ut ex tunc ipse vasallos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos, & terram exponat Catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminatis hæreticis absq; ullâ contradictione possideant, & in fidei puritate conservent, salvo jure Domini principalis, Dummodò super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum, nec aliquod impedimentum opponat, eâdem nihilominus lege servatâ circa eos qui non habent Dominos Prineipales.* If the Temporal Governour being required

Vid. Fowlers Hist. of Popish Treasons.

Concil. Lat. 4. sub Innocentio tertio cap. 3. & Decret. lib. 5. tit. 7. de hæret. cap. 12.

quired and admoniſhed by the Church, ſhall neglect to purge his Countrey from Hereſie; let this be ſignified to the Pope, that from henceforth he may declare his Subjects free from their Allegiance, and give away his Land to be poſſeſſed by Catholicks, who, exterminating and rooting out all Hereticks, may poſſeſs it without any Contradiction, and preſerve it pure in the Faith, ſaving always the Right of the Principal Governour, if he gives no Hinderance and Impediment in the Matter; but nevertheleſs let the ſame Law be obſerv'd towards them who have no principal Governours over them. [that is, let Kings and Princes and the ſupreme Governours themſelves (not only deputy-Governours and mean Lords) be proceeded againſt after the ſame Manner.

Again, *Innocent* the fourth in the Councel of *Lyons*, did give forth this Decree, which is entred into the ſixth Book of the *Decretals*, and ſerves for a ſtanding Precedent, or ruled Caſe, in times to come. The Title is *Papa Imperatorem deponere poteſt*, the Pope can depoſe the Emperour, and then he proceeds ad *Apoſtolicæ Dignitatis* &c.----*Nos cum fratribus noſtris & Sancto Concilio, deliberatione præhabitâ diligenti (cum Jeſu Chriſti*

Sexti Decretal. lib. 2. Tit. 14. de ſentent. & re judicat. cap 2. ad Apoſtolæ

Christi Vices, licèt immeriti teneamus in terris, nobisque in beati Petri personâ sit dictum, Quodcunque ligaveris super terram ligatum erit & in cœlis) memoratum principem [*Fredericum Imperatorem*] *qui se Imperio & regnis omniq; honore & dignitate reddidit tam indignum--suis ligatum peccatis & abjectum, omnique honore & dignitate privatum à Domino ostendimus, denunciamus, & nihilominus sententiando privamus: Omnes, qui ei juramento fidelitatis tenentur adstricti, à juramento hujusmodi perpetuo absolventes: Authoritate Apostolicâ firmiter inhibendo, ne quisquam de cætero sibi tanquam imperatori vel regi pareat & intendat. Decernendo quoslibet qui ei deinceps velut imperatori vel regi consilium vel auxilium præstiterint, seu favorem, ipso facto excommunicationis sententiæ subjacere. Illi autem ad quos in eodem imperio Imperatoris spectat electio, eligant liberè successorem. We having had diligent Deliberation with our Brethren and the holy Council (since we are Christ's Vicar, though unworthy upon Earth, and to Us it is said in the Person of St.* Peter, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind in Earth, shall be bound in Heaven) do shew and denounce, that the fore-named Prince* [Frederick *the Emperour*] *who has made himself unworthy*

worthy of the Empire, and Kingdom, and all Honour and Dignity, to be bound by his Sins, and rejected by the Lord, and deprived of all Honour and Dignity. Yet nevertheleſs we doe by our Sentence deprive him, and abſolve all that are bound by Oath of Allegiance to him, from that Oath: And by our Apoſtolick Authority do Straitly forbid, that no one hereafter obey him, or give heed to him as Emperour or King. And we do decree, that whoſoever from henceforth ſhall give him any Councel or Aid, or Favour as Emperour, or King, ſhall ipſo facto *be excommunicate; and they to whom it belongs to chooſe an Emperour in the ſame Empire, may freely chooſe a Succeſſor.*

Theſe are the Laws that do ſtand in their Body of Canon Law (which is read and taught in all Schools, practiſed in all Courts, alleged for Proofs in all their Schoolmen, Caſuiſts, and Divines) and are vouched either for the Decrees or the Approbations of Popiſh general Councils; but becauſe ſome are wont to anſwer that theſe Canons are not the Decrees of Councils, but only the Declarations of Popes, which they do not think themſelves bound to obſerve; I would wiſh them to conſider that the Council of *Laterane* under

Inno-

Innocent the Third, is several times called a General Council, in the Council of *Trent*, and the Canons recited or referred to, as the Canons of a General Council. And then as for the Evasion, that the Canon Law stands but by the Act of the Pope in these Particulars: I heartily wish it had no firmer Foundation; but they must remember the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Pope, which all Bishops of the *Roman* Communion take at their Consecration. *Ego N. Electus -- ab hâc horâ Fidelis & Obediens ero Beato Petro, Sanctæq; Romanæ Ecclesiæ & Domino nostro Papæ suisq; successoribus---Consilium quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & Regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum, salvo Ordine meo--Jura, Honores, Privilegia, & Authoritatem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ & successorum prædictorum conservare, defendere, augere & promovere curabo.--Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, Decreta, Ordinationes, seu Dispositiones, Reservationes, Provisiones, & Mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, & faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, Schismaticos & Re-*

Vide Pontificas in l. Rom. in forma consec. Episcopi.

belles

belles eidem domino noſtro vel ſucceſſoribus prædictis pro poſſe perſequar & impugnabo. &c. From this Hour and henceforward I will be faithful and obedient to Bleſſed Peter, *and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord the Pope and his Succeſſors; the Counſel that they ſhall commit to me by themſelves or their Nuncioes or Letters, I will reveal to no Body with my Knowledge to their Damage,* [what, not though it be Treaſon againſt the King?] *I will help them to defend the Roman Papacy, and the Regalities of St.* Peter, *ſaving the Right of my Order.--- I will endeavour to preſerve, defend, encreaſe and promote the Authority of the Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope and his Succeſſors. I will obſerve with all my Might the Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apoſtolical* [*that is Pope's*] *Decrees, Ordinances or Diſpoſitions, Reſervations, Proviſions, and Commands, and will cauſe them to be obſerved by Others. I will perſecute, and fight againſt Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels to the Pope and his Succeſſors to the utmoſt of my Power.*

Now is it not plain here that by *Decreta & mandata Apoſtolica* are meant the Popes Canons and Commands? But ſuppoſe it is with that equitable Excep-

tion as to any after-Canons, *in things lawful and honeſt*, yet in all Reaſon they ſeem to give their Aſſent to all the Canons that are already publickly ſet forth and commanded to be obſerved, and the Prieſts are to obey their Biſhops, and they would have the Laity to be guided by ſuch Prieſts, though whole Nations have greatly diſclaim'd it, and many of their Divines have writ againſt it. Neither are theſe dorment and obſolete Canons; but their Practice ever ſince the time of *Gregory* the ſeventh (which was about ſix hundred years ago) till this very day, has been always to the ſame Purpoſe, as may be ſeen at large in the Courſe of all Hiſtories from that time; the Murders of *Henry* the Third and *Henry* the Fourth, Kings of *France*, the Depoſition of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the inſulting Speech of *Pius* the Fifth, made in the Conclave, applauding the Murder of *Henry* the Third, with many other Practices of later State, do ſo far convince any man that has a Mind to ſee what Danger he is in, that no Chriſtian Prince or People can ſleep ſecure in their Beds, if they will not become Vaſſals to the Pope, when it is

V. Fowles Hiſtory of Popiſh Treaſons.

for

for his Intereſt, and it lyes in his Power to take away their Kingdoms or Lives, as long as theſe Canons ſtand in the Body of their Law uncondemned. Nay farther, though their Religion lay under ſo great Scandal here in *England* at this time, and ſo many of their Party were in Danger of their Lives upon this Account, yet the preſent Pope, who ſo lately as *February* laſt condemned ſixty five Propoſitions, would not add any thing in Condemnation of this Doctrine, or in Declaration that theſe Canons were obſolete and now of no Force at all. Neither is it any Wonder, or can it be expected, the Court of *Rome* ſhould in a Moment throw away all that Security to their Schiſm, which they have laboured to uphold above ſix hundred years together; for though they may ſuffer under it at one time, yet they hope to make Amends, and gain by it at another Opportunity. And by this Means, they hold both Princes and People in ſuch Bondage, that if they cannot by Craft and Deceit, they do not fail by Force and Cruelty to bring men to their Obedience. So that, as I ſaid in the Beginning of this Chapter, the very Original and Spring of all

these Miseries which we groan under from our Enemies of one side, proceeds from the usurped Dominion and Schism of the Court of *Rome*. And amongst other Arts to maintain her Pride and Grandure; this of Murdering and destroying all that do not comply with their Designs, is thought the most effectual Means, and that without which it is impossible to secure their usurped Tyranny.

CHAP. V.

Presbyterians guilty of this Schism.

IN the next place come we to consider the other Faction, and see by what Means and Steps that did exalt itself; which upon Enquiry will appear to be likewise built upon Schism, and even upon the same Motives of Dominion and Power, though better suited to a Democracy than a tyrannical Government; and here I will not enquire whether it was Necessity or Ambition that laid the first Foundation of this rebellious Sect, by which I do not insinuate

ſinuate there could be any Neceſſity for men to run into ſuch Extravagances, but there might be a kind of Neceſſity that many at the Beginning of the Reformation ſhould rank themſelves into imperfect Societies, where they could not obſerve all the Laws of the Church, nor form ſuch a regular Communion as the Inſtitution of Chriſt did require; but then they ſhould not force the Stream, and think one Evil can give Liberty to another, but by Prayers and Supplications they ought to commit their Cauſe to God, and wait his Leiſure till he will bring him to a more perfect Conſtitution. But however, whether out of Choice or Neceſſity, ſome Perſons being obliged to proteſt againſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* (in ſuch unhappy Circumſtances where they had not a due and orderly Succeſſion of Paſtors according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt) did reſt themſelves ſatisfied with a new ſort of Prieſthood of their own, the like never known or allowed in the Church before, and were not contented to acknowledge it only a temporary Proviſion for the preſent Exigence, till a better Miniſtry could be had (as many of the wiſeſt

Vide Durel's View of Reformed Churches.

wiſeſt and moſt learned have often profeſs'd, and count it their Unhappineſs that they cannot become conformed to the ancient Church herein; which we learn from Biſhop *Hall*, who was preſent at the Synod of *Dort*. *What ſhould I need to thicken the Air with Clouds of Witneſſes? There is Witneſs enough in the late Synod of* Dort; *when the Biſhop of* Landaff *had, in a Speech of his, touched upon Epiſcopal Government, and ſhewed that the Want thereof gave Opportunity to thoſe Diviſions which were then on foot in the* Netherlands: Bogermannus *the Preſident of that Aſſembly ſtood up, and in a good Allowance of what had been ſpoken, ſaid,* Domine nos non ſumus adeò fælices; *Alas! my Lord, we are not ſo happy; neither did he ſpeak this in a faſhionable Complement (neither the Perſon nor the Place, nor the Hearers, were fit for that) but in a ſad Gravity, and conſcionable Profeſſion of a known Truth. Neither would he, being the Mouth of that ſelect Aſſembly, have thought it ſafe to paſs thoſe Words (before the Deputies of the States, and ſo many venerable Divines of Forreign Parts, beſides their own) if he had not ſuppoſed this ſo clear a Truth as that* Synod *would neither diſreliſh, nor contradict.*

Biſhop *Hall* of Epiſcopacy. *cap.* 4.

What

What do I single out a few? All the World of men judicious, and not prejudiced with their own Interests, both do and must say thus, and confess with the Learned Casaubon, Fregevil *and* Saraccia, *that no Church in the World comes so near the Apostolick Form, as the Church of* England. *And are you weary of that Condition which other good and wise men proclaim happy? and dote upon that which they would be glad to change?* And this Affirmation of the Bishop of *Landaff*, which was the Occasion of this Declaration of the President of the Synod of *Dort*, is agreeable to St. *Hierom*'s Opinion about this Matter, who saith, when there were Schismes in the Church. *Toto orbe decretum est ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis Ecclesiæ cura pertineret, ut Schismatum semina tollerentur. When it was said amongst the People I am of* Paul, *I of* Apollo, *I of* Cephas; *it was decreed in the whole World, that one chosen out of the Presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom all the Care of the Church should pertain; that the Seeds of Schism might be taken away.* Whereby he plainly implies, that Episcopacy was instituted by the Apostles to prevent Schism; and we see the Taking it

Hierom. in Titum. Cùm diceretur in populis ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, toto orbe decretum est &c.

away did make a lamentable Schism and Confusion in this Nation. And as *Bogermannus* does give us the Sense of the *Dutch* Church, so Dr. *Moulin*, and Dr. *Durell* give us the Sense of the *French* Church to the same purpose in this matter. But though the sobereſt were of this mind, yet many ambitious Spirits, well knowing how much that would be apt to leſſen their Authority and Esteem amongſt the People if they ſhould acknowledge any Defect in themſelves, and alſo impatient to have any Governours over them, and yet conſcious to themſelves that they wanted Merit or Opportunity to make themſelves ſo conſiderable in a more orderly Conſtitution, as they are now among their ſeparate Aſſemblies, over whom they have the ſole Authority and Government, began to dogmatize, and maintain that theirs was the moſt perfect and Apoſtolical Way of Government, and therefore to be preferred and embraced before all others; nay, not reſting here, many of the pretended Zealots and godly Party were ſo bold as to call Epiſcopal Government, which the Church ever held, Anti-chriſtian and Diabolical. And when they ſaw their own Platform of Eccle-

Biſhop *Fern* againſt *Chumpney p.* 94. *Durell's* View of Reformed Churches.

Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline could never conſiſt with their Obedience and Reverence to the Catholick Church, to free themſelves (as they will term it) from her Yoke, they refuſe to ſubmit to her Authority, and caſt off all her Laws as Superſtitious and tyrannical, that ſo they themſelves may become Tyrants, and exerciſe a Lordly Dominion over God's Inheritance. Having thus uſurped to themſelves all divine Offices, and aſſumed all Eccleſiaſtical Authority by a new and unheard of Method, in Oppoſition to the Churches Order and continual Practice derived down from Chriſt himſelf, they muſt apply themſelves to politick Arts, as the Papiſts did, to maintain their new Contrivance.

Now as it is evident that the Papacy on the one ſide is chiefly upheld by the Monks and Regulars, propagating it amongſt the People, and the great Intereſt they can make with them upon all Occaſions to reduce Princes to a complyance: Inſomuch that *Bellarmine* in his Retractions confeſſes it an Errour, that he derived the Sovereign Power immediately from God, and thinks it a truer Doctrine, that it is receiv'd from the

Buch. de jure Reg. populus rege est praestantior & melior, pag. 61. *Populo jus est ut imperium cui vult deferat, p. 50.* The People may arreign their Prince, *pag. 62.* So the Rebel Parliament passed a Vote, *Nemine contradicente*, That the People under God are the Original of all just Power; knowing, what was the Peoples was their own in Effect. The Regicides arreign'd condemned and murder'd King *Charles* the 1. in the Name of the People of *England.*

the People. The other, namely the Presbyterian Faction, well agreeing with the Papists in these Maxims of Policy, do likewise ground all Civil Authority in the People, and their whole strength lies in their Interest that they have amongst the ignorant Vulgar; and if they do at any time draw in men of better Rank and Fortunes, it is out of Ambition or Envy, to make themselves more considerable in the World, and in a better capacity to revenge themselves, and to become formidable to their Enemies, and so more effectually carry on their worldly Designs; but still their greatest Confidence, and Support wherein they trust, is amongst the rude Multitude, whom they easily stir up to Sedition, and lead about with Lies and Slanders as they please, and then make Use of them to murder, or awe Princes or Governours at their Will. Instances and Histories in this kind have been many since their Beginning, and we have too sad Occasion to remember what we did, and still do suffer from the direful Effects that did follow upon those Principles; and, I wish the mischievous Consequences do

not

not tend again to the great Hazard of our Church and Nation. So that, as Schism from the Catholick Church is the Bottom and Foundation upon which both these Factions are built, so nothing but Rebellion and Sedition can ever support them; which they very well understand, and therefore have made it part of their Religion to force Princes and States to comply with their Doctrines and Government, under the fair Pretences, that 'tis the Cause of God they maintain, though with direct Opposition to his Church, and those receiv'd Orders which have been all along practised in her Communion.

Now let me desire all Sober and Rational men, that may have been (through Mistake) led into a good Opinion of their Persons and Perswasions, to consider what a base and disingenuous way they take, in forsaking all Authority of the Catholick Church, the grave Decisions and Resolutions of the Councils and Fathers, the sober and orderly Determinations of later Synods and Divines, and upon all Controversies and Disputes appealing to the common People, and carrying on their Designs by Tumults, Clamours, and the violent Threats

Threats of the ignorant multitude. And if at any time men of Eminence, Learning, Gravity, and thereupon justly of good Authority, do appear to discover their ill Dealings; they have the same Arts, without proof or tryal, to expose them to popular Fury and Contempt, calling them *Papists*, *Malignants*, *the dead weight*, *Club-voters*, *Pensioners*, and the like, to take away their good Name and Reputation, and then the Cry of the Vulgar must be the Tribunal before which they must be Sentenced and Condemned. Thus the Pharisees murdered our Lord; *And Pilate willing to content the People, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus to be crucified.* This they know is a sure way, where Innocence it self can never escape. God defend our Church and Nation from being destroyed again by the like Means.

Mar. 15 15.

I know I need not farther insist upon the Proof of these Matters, which are too evident in all Modern Histories, especially in Arch-bishop *Spotswood* his History of *Scotland*, and Mr. *Fowle*'s History of pretended Saints, besides those Authors referred to in the first Chapter of this Book, and are still more

more confirmed by the daily Inſolencies that are committed by each Party in proſecution of their Cauſe. It would be moſt material if we could find out a Remedy how to ſuppreſs and take away theſe powerful Factions, which are ſo pernicious to *Chriſtendom*, and ſuch bitter Enemies to the Churches Peace and Concord.

CHAP. VI.

Moderate ſtating of Differences, and Sober Debate, one Remedy of Schiſm.

TIS commonly granted among men of Art, that the finding out the true Cauſe of any Evil, is a great Means to diſcover the right way to remove it. I hope therefore, it being made apparent in the fore-going Chapter, that theſe bloody and turbulent Factions are firſt founded in Schiſm; if we can but find out any Remedy to deſtroy that Foundation, it might not be impoſſible to leſſen very much, if not wholly take them away; at leaſt ſo far to undeceive their Followers, that they will not any longer abett them in ſuch horrid Deſigns, which

which will fill Christendome with Rebellions and Massacres. Now Schisms and Contentions usually springing from some real or else supposed Mistakes, the way to bring things to temper, and put an end to the Division, is not by heightning Differences, wracking every Punctilio to the utmost Extremity, and often times beyond and against what is maintained by their Adversaries, whereby it most commonly falls out that men frame Enemies in their own Brains, and then oppose them with their greatest Fury, when there is no such real Adversary to be found. Since therefore common Reason and Prudence in all other Differences does oblige men to lay aside all Heats and Passions, and to make all the most favourable and candid Interpretations concerning Matters in Difference, that they can possibly bear, and to cast off all Rigours and Extremities of our own side; Christianity surely, and the Duty of Charity, will engage us to use the like and far greater Ingenuity and Moderation in all Matters of Religion, wherein the Church's Peace is so highly concern'd. Forbearing then all odious Reflections, wresting and perverting one another's Mean-

Meaning, forcing Consequences which are never thought of, or intended, let us bring Differences to as narrow a Compass as is possible, and insist upon such things only as are really evil and intolerable, bearing with small Indecencies and Imperfections. How far many Writers and furious Zealots on all Parties have transgressed these Rules, and in what Points, and Particulars, I will not now set down, or so much as mention their Names; 'tis too evident, Multitudes have been faulty on all sides, and have spoiled often times a good Cause, by their peevish and undiscreet Management of it; but God be thanked, in the deliberate Debates of Synods, and in the settled Constitutions and Articles of these divided Churches, we find much more Sobriety and Moderation than we can observe in particular Writers. Therefore this general Caution ought to be observed, that the Church it self is chargeable no farther than for what is determined in her publick Offices and Constitutions; the Slips and Extravagances of private Persons are no way to be imputed to the Church, if their Singularities be not justified in her Decrees. But because many, being seduced

duced by ill Books, will believe and practise more than they are authorized to do, it is oftentimes very good Service to confute wicked Doctrines and Usages, that obtain beyond or above the Churches Rules. But these must not be alleaged as Grounds of Differences between Churches, or sufficient Arguments to maintain a Schism or Separation.

CHAP. VII.

Readiness to hearken to the Judgment of others, a great Means to end Divisions.

THough men be of never so good Temper and Equanimity for the main, yet in their own Case, where they have long espoused and been wedded to an Opinion, 'tis not possible but there will be some overweaning and partial Tenderness for their own Side, which will so blind their Understandings, that they will not see things with such Indifferency as others will do. Therefore the Laws of Common Prudence

dence and Ingenuity will overſway a ſober mans Judgment in a Caſe where many more wiſe and unprejudiced Perſons ſhall give in their Verdict againſt him, and condemn his Proceedings. If therefore, concerning the Diviſions now maintained upon the Score of Religion, it ſhall appear that wiſer and more impartial men, who were not at all intereſſed in the preſent Quarrels, have given Sentence againſt us, and condemned theſe very Practices and Perſwaſions which we ſo fondly dote upon; this ſhould be enough to convince an ingenuous and generous Mind, that it ought not to contend further in any ſuch Matter. And this will become ſtill more obligatory, if it ſhall appear, or be probable, that they are our Superiours to whom we owe Obedience, and Subjection in all things not evidently contrary to the will of God. But for any either in Words or Deeds to, ſay I will be Party and Judge too, and hearken to no Body but my own ſelf, how great and conſiderable ſoever the Authority is that is alleaged againſt him, this will argue a man to be unreaſonable, in the Judgment of all Mankind but himſelf; the ſame may be ſaid of

greater Companies and Societies of men, if they will admit no other Arbitrators but themselves, and yet persist in a flagrant Schism against the Churches Unity.

CHAP. VII.

Another and the most principal Remedy, the Decisions of the Catholick Church.

BEsides these common Remedies of Divisions, which humane Prudence does suggest in ordinary Contentions, the Divine Wisdom has provided a more effectual Means for Removing of Schism out of the Church, by erecting an Authority in her to end all Disputes and Controversies; and that she may the better demean her self in this Office, he has promised her the perpetual Guidance and Direction of his Spirit, till she shall receive her perfect Consummation in Glory; and thereupon our Saviour himself has pronounced of every one that shall neglect to hear his Church, *Let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican*; and then immediately

Mat. 18.

ly adds, *Verily, I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye ſhall bind in Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven.* Which is ultimately intended of the Catholick Church, and of particular Churches and Superiours, only as far as they execute the Sentence of the Catholick Church, which they do validly in their reſpective Charges, in all things not repugnant to the Decrees of the Catholick Church. That the Catholick Church is ultimately meant in this place, will be evident, becauſe the Sentence of a private Paſtor or a particular Church, when contradicted by the Sentence of the Catholick Church, is null and Void, and ſo no Decree of the Church: but the Sentence of the Catholick Church, no Authority upon Earth can make void in things that belong to her Authority. I ſpeak not of civil Matters or external Judicatures, even about eccleſiaſtical Affairs in all which the Church is ſubject to the Temporal Powers; and muſt ſubmit, if not actively, yet paſſively to all their Commands. But beſides this clear Precept of the Goſpel, that in all Schiſms and Contentions we muſt hearken to the Decree of the Church, we have the Apoſtles Practice *Acts* 15. as

(I said before) after this manner, ending a Dispute that rose in their days; and that this is one great Article of our Belief, we learn from our Creed, which though it be but short, yet this is put into it, *I believe the Holy Catholick Church*; which cannot be truly profess'd, unless we live in her Communion, and pay all Obedience and Subjection to her Laws. Neither have we only the Example of the Apostles, but the same Method was observed in other Ages of the Church, when any Controversies did arise; and to this purpose there have been six General Councils universally owned and received, wherein are laid down such Canons and Precepts which are sufficient to put an end to all our present Divisions. Now as it is in all other Societies wherein there are lesser Companies, or Bodies incorporate that make up one Kingdom or Government, the Laws of no private Company must be set up against the Whole. Neither must other Partes be obliged to admit any Orders which are only established in a private Society, and not by the Authority of the Publick State. So it ought to be in the Church; and 'tis decreed so by the Canons of the General Councils,

and

and the ſtanding Rules all along derived down by Tradition, that in matters not defined by the Church univerſal, each particular Church is left to its own Diſcretion, and may make Laws as it ſhall ſee good for it ſelf, but cannot be obliged to receive any Commands, or to comply with the Opinions of other particular Churches, how many or great ſoever, unleſs they be perſwaded from the Reaſon and Goodneſs of the things themſelves, wherein they are to judge as they ſhall think fit. Thus it was never known in any Age of the Church, that *Rome* could give Law to *Conſtantinople*, or *Alexandria*, or any leſſer Province, out of its own proper Juriſdiction. Neither did other Churches think themſelves bound to follow the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Opinion in all things, or any farther than they were moved with the Equity of the Cauſe, and the Weight of his Reaſons. And if we conſider all the Allegations that are brought to prove a Juriſdiction belonging to the Biſhop of *Rome* over all Churches, they will appear frivolous and idle when they come to be examined, and far ſhort of making out what they would have. So that for the

Decision of the present Differences, at least Quieting all Strifes and Contentions, we are to consider whether they are about Matters already defined and universally received, as are the matters in Dispute between the true Catholicks and Socinians, Quakers, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, I might add Papists too in most Points, wherein they oppose the Church of *England*; for they act contrary to the general received Orders and Decrees of the Church. Thus what is more evidently asserted in the primitive and universal Church, than the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Necessity of Baptism, the constant Succession of Episcopal Government, the unlawfulness of Invading one anothers Jurisdiction without Leave *&c?* In all these Matters, and others that are built upon the like Authority, all sober and pious Christians will readily agree; and I think will not endeavour to impose any private Commands of their own upon other Churches, over which they have no Authority.

But if the Contentions be within particular Churches, and their own Members, and not between several Churches, then the common Rule of all Societies

ties is this, namely, every Member of a Family must conform to the Rules of the Master, every Citizen to the Customs and Orders of the City, every Subject to the Laws of the Kingdom, and so every Christian to the Laws of that particular Church wherein he lives, if they are not contrary to the Law of God, and of the Catholick Church. According to this Method, those that are the true and dutiful Sons of the Church of *England*, do profess all hearty Obedience and Conformity to the Commands, Traditions and Laws of the Universal Church, and have carefully retained them all, except in some indifferent Circumstances, which all Parties acknowledge to be changeable, and have used the same Liberty we have done; but as for any Point of Doctrine, any Duty that tends to Piety, there is Freedom left to observe them all; and as we pay all Duty to our Superiours, so we do enjoyn the like Obedience to all Members both of Church and State, and count it Schism to disobey the ecclesiastical Constitutions, and Rebellion not to submit to the civil Statutes, till they can shew they are against the Law of God and his Church, which as yet none

have been able to do, and, as a corollary, from these Principles we must account all Papists, Presbyterians, and other Fanaticks here in *England* that withdraw from our Communion, and deny Obedience to our Government, Schismaticks before God and his whole Church, and that as properly and formally, as ever any were in the World; and this is ratified by the Consent and Judgment of the whole Catholick Church, and the Decrees and Canons of the general Councils, let them acquit themselves how they can. I do not see it possible any way but by Repentance, and Returning to their Obedience to the Church of *England*.

So I have represented the miserable Condition that Christendom is in, upon the Account of these potent Factions of Popery and Presbyterianism; and shewed, that they are both founded in Schism and Departure from the Catholick Church; and that the only Remedy to procure Peace and Safety, is to return back to that ancient Unity from whence they have departed, and then we may hope for the Blessing of God, and the Extirpation of these wicked Principles, which fill the World with Slaughter

and

and Confusion. But if effectual Care be not taken to undeceive the deluded People of each Party by Moderation, and bringing them back to the Order of the Catholick Church, and to suppress the ambitious and unruly; we must expect yet greater Calamities, and live in perpetual Danger of Murder and Desolation. Look back into the Stories of *Germany*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, and add to them the several Commotions in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and then there will be no room left for any longer Doubt; and the present Plot under Examination, and the late Rebellion in *Scotland*, do demonstrate to the World, that they both still retain and act by the same rebellious Principles. Nay farther, it does appear most evident to all considerate Persons, that there is no possible Hope of Gaining them by Indulgence and Toleration; for the Gentleness and Forbearance that has been shewed towards them near twenty years, has but been only a Means to give them Opportunity to seduce more to their Errors, and thereby so strengthened their Party, that they took this Boldness, after such a violent manner to go about to bring all under

der their Obedience. But ſince God Almighty has by his miraculous Providence now again hitherto defeated their bloody Intentions, and delivered us out of the Snare, let us take heed how we provoke him to Anger again, by permitting them to ſeduce well-meaning People, and keeping up ſeditious Conventicles and Schiſmatical Aſſemblies. Our Lord blames the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira*, becauſe he ſuffered the *Woman* Jezabel *to teach and ſeduce his Servants*; and if, after ſo much Warning and Experience, they are ſtill permitted to propagate their Schiſm, we have reaſon to fear, God will be angry with our Nation, and deliver us up again to be puniſhed by them who have been permitted to cauſe ſo much Atheiſm and Confuſion amongſt us.

Conſidera-

Conſiderations offered to religious and well-meaning men of all Perſwaſions and Intereſts; and firſt of all to thoſe of the Church of England.

I Doubt not but from the foregoing Diſcourſe, all ſober and rational men of all Perſwaſions are fully convinced, that the preſent State of *Chriſtendom* is moſt doleful and lamentable; and there are ſuch immortal Seeds of Enmity, and Hatred between all Parties, that Chriſtians are in Danger of Ruine and Deſtruction on all ſides; for as thoſe ſeditious Factions of Popery and Preſbyterianiſm, do endeavour to advance themſelves by all violent and barbarous Means; ſo the Neceſſity of Self-Preſervation, does oblige all Kingdoms and Governments, while they have their Authority, to uſe all lawful ways to defend themſelves, which cannot well be done, but by puniſhing and weakening ſuch of their Subjects which are always buſie in Undermining and Subverting their Religion and Government.

Now as all religious men, out of mere Conſcience and Compaſſion, muſt heartily pray and deſire that theſe Differences

ces may be compoſed, that ſo that time which is ſpent in Plotting and Counterplotting, may be imployed about better things; ſo it muſt be the Intereſt of all Stateſmen to promote it, that the Government may be ſecure from ſuch Seditions as always indanger its Safety; but I ſhall leave thoſe Conſiderations till the laſt, becauſe unleſs the Religious Differences be ſome way ſilenced upon religious Principles, all the Policies of Stateſmen will never cure, but only lay the Diſeaſe aſleep, which will awake again with greater Fury. And becauſe the Church of *England*, has in all her Conſtitutions obſerved theſe Methods which I have laid down (though they have not been ſo well underſtood by her own Children as they ought to have been, and therefore no wonder, if her Adverſaries have continued in the like Miſtake, and ſo kept up the Difference to our great Sorrow and Danger) I ſhall firſt begin to offer Conſiderations to thoſe of her Communion, who are the fitteſt to reduce all other Perſons amongſt us, at leaſt to caſt off all thoſe Factions, and to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church, and their Obe-

Obedience to the Church of *England*.

And now I am upon this Conſideration, I cannot, but with the greateſt thankfulneſs, extoll the Goodneſs of God to this Nation, in putting it into the Hearts of our Governours, to eſtabliſh ſuch a happy Reformation amongſt us, and count it the greateſt Felicity of my Life, to have had my Being and Education under ſuch a Pious and Holy Church, in all things ſo Exact and Obedient to the Word of God, and Conformable to all the Commands and Traditions of the Catholick Church. But though thus it be in reality, yet we have found by Experience we have not been able to Convince our Adverſaries of the truth of theſe things. And to me it ſeems very well worth conſideration, why the Reformation in general has made very little progreſs in the World, ſince the firſt beginning, and all the Books that have been publiſhed on both ſides, have made very ſmall Conqueſt over their Adverſaries, and gain'd few Proſelytes to each Party, but ſuch as have been induced by other Motives of ſecular Humour or Advantage; which they have coloured over with ſome other Pretence of Conviction

on by ſuch and ſuch Books and Diſcourſes; perhaps to enquire into the Reaſon of this, would ask a great deal of time, and better Acquaintance with the Affairs of the ſecular State than I can pretend to, but certainly it will argue ſome Probability too, that the Methods that have been taken hitherto, have not been altogether ſo effectual as they ought to have been; and therefore if we go on ſtill in the ſame manner, we have juſt Cauſe to fear that the ſame Miſchiefs will ſtill continue amongſt us. I do not intend any new Model either in Church or State, or deſire the Alteration of the preſent Conſtitutions of our Religion, or any new Laws or Decrees to be made about them; but that ſome Care be taken that our Church may flouriſh upon this Foundation on which it is already eſtabliſhed, and all the Clergy rightly ſatisfied upon what firm Grounds we are built, and thereupon do teach the People to underſtand the ſame, which as yet many of them are ignorant of; if it were not ſo, we ſhould not find them upon all Occaſions to ſlight and revile the Biſhops, and to caſt all the Blame of any Miſcarriages, or the Misfortunes of any

ill Events, upon them, and ſo ſtand gaping after new revolutions and Changes, and expect other Models and Settlement in Religion. Were they rightly catechiſed and grounded in the true Principles of their Religion, they would ſee it a more ſtable thing, and founded upon better Authority than to admit of ſuch Varieties and Alterations. The true reaſon of this unſteadineſs in the People proceeds from the unconſtancy of ſome of the Clergy, who have not gone upon ſuch ſafe Grounds to explain their own Conſtitution, and refute their Adverſaries Pretenſions; but I muſt not ſay this of all, for there have been able and learned men ſpread up and down the Nation, who have been the Pillars to hold up the Church from falling, but there have been a Multitude of others, who by their raſh and inconſiderate Proceedings have much diſordered Affairs, at leaſt did not joyn in faſtening and ſecuring our Foundation. for though many did agree to the preſent Conſtitution, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed by Law, yet looking for no better Security, they were not at all zealous to defend it, but could as willingly embrace any other Articles or Govern-

Government. Such an Indifferency muſt needs expoſe the Church to the Covetouſneſs and Ambition of any prevailing Intereſt, that can fancy to it ſelf any temporal Advantage by Alteration in Religion. Thus while matters are ſo negligently carried amongſt our ſelves, no wonder if thoſe Factions by Diligence and Craft did thrive and prevail amongſt us, and ſo will ever propagate themſelves unleſs we take ſome other Courſe to undeceive the People who are deluded by them. Now this can never be done unleſs you can preſs them with a greater Authority than your Adverſaries can pretend to; and what can be more triumphant than the Authority of the Catholick Church againſt a private Faction? What can be more urgent than the Conſent of all Ages of the Church, againſt the Novelties of a handful of men in Compariſon; and thoſe living in theſe Dregs of times, too far remote from the Planting of Chriſtianity to be able to bring to light any Doctrine or Practice not known in Ages before? This will appear moſt evidently againſt both theſe Factions, and will for ever confound all impudent Pretenders to the contrary, and convince

vince all that are ſeduced, of their Error, if we do but heartily ſtick to, and maintain this Principle.

Object. But ſome perhaps will object, This is that which the Papiſts all along lay Claim to, who never leave off their Boaſts of following the Catholick Church.

Anſ. If they did really do what they pretended to, we ſhould quickly ſee another Face of things amongſt them, and all their Superſtitious Devices, and ſchiſmatical Innovations would quickly be laid aſide; any one that is converſant with the Acts and Decrees of the Councils, and the Writings of the ancient Fathers, will eaſily ſee all their ſingular Opinions, condemned by the Church of *England* are Corruptions, many of them contrary to, and the reſt beſides the Tradition of the Church; but they by a monſtrous Impudence will pleaſe to call themſelves the Church, and ſo caſt out all other Chriſtian Societies.

Object. But others will ſay, We have all along appealed to the Tradition and Decrees of the Church, and therefore Inſiſting upon this Argument will be no more effectual now, than it was heretofore.

Anſ. I confeſs, in the Church of *England*, there have been eminent men of the higheſt Rank and Learning that have firmly maintained the Authority of the Catholick Church, and profeſs'd all Subjection to her Commands, and it is by their Wiſdom and Piety that we have been hitherto ſupported amidſt both theſe Factions, who attempted by Rebellions and Treaſons, Crafts and Policies to undermine this Principle and overthrow our Religion. But there have been others who have not failed as maliciouſly to ſlander our Biſhops and moſt Orthodox Divines for Papiſts, amongſt the ignorant Vulgar, and all along infuſed contrary Principles, which have kept theſe Schiſms and Factions ſtill amongſt us on Foot. So that though the beſt and wiſeſt have been of this Mind, yet many have not heartily maintained their Religion upon theſe ſolid Grounds; and till they do ſee their Error herein and endeavour to amend it, there is no Hope for Peace and Unity in the Church, or any likelyhood that we ſhall be freed from the continual Fears and Dangers of Treaſons and Maſſacres.

Object.

Object. But ſome will farther object, That the Scriptures are clear and plain, and all Religious and Devout Perſons that conſcientiouſly read them, muſt neceſſarily ſee their Errours, and be convinced of the Truth, and ſo embrace it; and as for all diſhoneſt and negligent Perſons, there can be no hope that they will ever regard, Right or Wrong, or be convinced by any Principles whatſoever, but ſuch as ſhall ſute with their worldly Deſigns.

Anſw. There is no queſtion to be made, but it was always the Doctrine of the Church, That all things neceſſary to Salvation are plainly laid down in the Scriptures, and that all Perſons who do ſincerely uſe thoſe means which are ſet before them in thoſe Sacred Writings, will undoubtedly come to the knowledge of the Truth, as far as concerns their own Salvation. But then, as St. *Auguſtine* ſayes, *Quiſquis falli metuit hujus obſcuritate Quæſtionis, eandem Eccleſiam conſulat, quam ſine ulla ambiguitate Sancta Scriptura demonſtrat.* Whoſoever fears to be deceived by the obſcurity of this Queſtion, let him conſult that Church which the Scripture does demonſtrate without any doubt. And *cont. Creſc. lib. 1. c. 33.*

therefore we are often in Scripture commanded to *hear the Church*, to *obey our Paſtors*, and to *follow their Faith*; and for Neglect hereof, are to be counted *Heathens and Publicans*: therefore the Scripture directing all People to live in the Obedience and Communion of the Church, all Pretences to Scripture, contrary to her Doctrine and Communion, muſt be Miſtakes, and wrong Interpretations put upon thoſe Sacred Writings; and that Ignorant Perſons, that are not Scholars, muſt very much relye upon her Authority, is moſt undoubted, becauſe they cannot otherwiſe be aſſured of the Tranſlations, that they are true; neither can they diſtinguiſh between the Ambiguity of Phraſes, whether things are Metaphorically ſpoken, or Literally; what Texts muſt be underſtood Univerſally, and what muſt admit of Exceptions, and where, and why, and how far theſe Exceptions muſt be admitted. So that, I ſuppoſe, no man will ſay, that the Principle of the Scripture's ſufficiency and perſpicuity does infer, that every man, at what time of his Life he pleaſes, meerly by reading the Bible, can find out, of his own accord, all things neceſſary to Salvation; but

Mat. 18.

but for the Unlearned, on their Death-bed, and thoſe that have ſpent moſt of their time in Sloth and Debauchery, and onely at the latter end of their Lives think of Religion, it cannot be thought that they can relye upon any other Principle than the Authority of their Paſtors, expounding to them the Subſtance of a Chriſtians Duty. All that I ſuppoſe is intended in maintaining the clearneſs of the Scriptures, is this; That it does ſo ſufficiently and evidently contain all Matters that concern Salvation, that no Doctrine muſt be embraced, but what can be proved from thence; and then, things are laid down there ſo manifeſtly, that men that do without any Prejudice ſeriouſly apply themſelves to the Reading and Study of the Scriptures, and come prepared with all things neceſſary to the right Underſtanding of them, may, without any other Guide, ſee in them all things that concern their own Salvation.

But we are not enquiring now what is poſſible, but what is commonly requiſite for the Peace of the Church, conſidering the imperfect ſtate of things, and that Perſons are generally negli-

gent, and do not uſe that care in ſearching after Truth as they ought to do, but each Party does hearken either to the Leaders, or elſe to other Eminent men of their own Perſwaſion; but not one of a thouſand are ſo confident of their perſonal Skill, as to relye altogether upon their own Judgments. So that, if you come to diſcourſe with any Diſſenter from you, and urge Texts of Scripture againſt them, each Party has an Anſwer ready, according to their own Principles; and whether it be good or bad, the Interpretation of ſo many men that they reverence for their Underſtanding and Piety will ſtill weigh more with them than any Reaſons you can bring againſt them, and we ſee not only the Vulgar, but even the Scholars of all ſides keep to the ſame Opinions and Diſtinctions, and 'tis impoſſible ever to make a Multitude bluſh or be aſhamed, unleſs you can bring a greater and more conſiderable Multitude to oppoſe them. Therefore I do readily agree that Scripture and Reaſon are againſt both theſe Factions; but ſo long as men only urge them with theſe Arguments, the Interpretations of Scripture that they make, and the Reaſons

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to the contrary which their own Party are ſatisfied withal, will ever to them appear more prevalent than ours. But if we call them and their Teachers to the Authority of the Catholick Church, and the Belief of ſo many Ages, this muſt neceſſarily confound them, and reſcue all ſober Perſons from their Deluſions, and there is no other way likely to prevail. I do not ſay that ſome men may not otherwiſe come to the Knowledge of the Truth, but, that the Peace of the Church and convincing of many honeſt men, who are ſeduced by each Faction, is not like otherwiſe to be effected. And that this is thought an Argument of great Authority, is moſt evident, becauſe every Body is willing to lay hold on it when it is for their Purpoſe. But becauſe it does not ſerve their Turn in all things, therefore they are unwilling to own it for a Rule to direct themſelves and oppoſe their Adverſaries; whence it comes to paſs, that it is rejected at mens Pleaſure, and ſo all the Weight of its Authority is of no Account in Diſputes and Controverſies, if it chance to thwart a particular humour or Intereſt of their own.

But God Almighty did not intend his Church should be thus despised, and that men should take to themselves that Liberty to cast off her Authority when they please; he has said, *the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve her shall perish, yea those Nations shall be utterly wasted.* We must therefore look for nothing else but Misery and Devastation, Plots and Conspiracies, so long as we dishonour God, in disobeying his Church. When God has given us a Rule and setled Order, whereby we might be freed from these Confusions, it is no wonder if we fall into them, if we forsake that way which God has commanded for our Safety. We have long enough tryed what Extreams will do, and what little Effect there is in our own Councels and Devices, our Adversaries are rather multiplyed and strengthened than any wayes satisfied and convinced; 'tis high time therefore that we should bethink our selves, and return to our Obedience to the Church, and own both her Cause and Authority, and then we might hope to see an end of these Factions and Conspiracies. I press this the more earnestly to these of the Church of *England* because our Church has been so

Isa. 60. 12.

happy

happy as to keep her ſelf to this Rule, and thoſe who have underſtood her aright, have conſtantly maintained their Reverence and Duty to the Catholick Church; and had all others of our Communion done the ſame, it might have had ſuch Influence upon other parts of Chriſtendom, that Matters might have been brought to a better Iſſue.

Object. But in this divided and broken State of the Church, 'tis not poſſible to know her Senſe and Judgment concerning our preſent Differences, and therefore the Rule propoſed is wholly uſeleſs and inſignificant.

Anſ. It may very poſſibly be, that at preſent we cannot hope to ſee the Churches Deciſion concerning our preſent Controverſies, and ſo we cannot be ſo well aſſured of the ſpeculative Truth of theſe matters under Debate between the ſeveral Contenders, neither perhaps is it needful we ſhould, but this does not make the Churches Authority inſignificant, even at this time, touching what concerns her Peace and Unity. For if the Churches Senſe be not known in them, yet it is, concerning our Behaviour one towards another, under this Variety of Opinions, which is,

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to retain friendly Communion and Love one towards another notwithſtanding this Difference, and all private Perſons muſt ſubmit to the Determinations of their own Superiours about them, and not to break Communion if they cannot aſſent to their Decrees. Much leſs ought any Forreign Powers violently to impoſe their Opinions upon other Churches: nay it is not unknown in the Church, that ſome who had the better Cauſe, were eſteemed the worſer men, becauſe they did go ſo far in the Defence thereof as to break Communion with others that were in the Wrong, before the Church had made any Decree about it. And this was the Cauſe between Pope *Victor* and the *Aſiaticks*, and *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, and St. *Cyprian*; and even theſe Popes themſelves were condemned for being too forward in ſhutting out others from their Communion, though in an Error; becauſe it had not been defined by the Church: ſo little was the Authority of that See, in the purer Ages of Chriſtianity. So that even the very Silence of the Church concerning any of theſe Matters, does leave a heavy Guilt upon all thoſe, that Cauſe or foment any Diviſions

viſions about them; much more horrid muſt it be for any by Murder and Aſſaſſinations to propagate and impoſe ſuch private Opinions as both theſe Factions have done. Let us but try this bloody Doctrine of Depoſing of Kings and Princes by this Rule, now ſetting aſide the Churches Authority in this Matter, the Determination of the Popes pretended Councils, and theſe for many hundred years extant in the Body of their Canon Law, and then Abundance of their Canoniſts and Divines, finding out Anſwers to all the Objections to the contrary, will ſway more with many of the *Roman* Party, than any other Reaſon you can urge them withal. On the other ſide, the Opinions of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and other eminent Divines of the other Faction, will be more accounted of than any Reaſons that can be offered to invalidate their Authority herein; for they do not fail to alledge Scripture on both ſides, and bring colourable Interpretations of any Texts that are brought againſt them; but if we preſs them, that the Catholick Church never taught nor practiſed any ſuch thing, the greater part of Chriſtians now own not this Doctrine, and they

they are but a handful in Compariſon of thoſe vaſt numbers, both of the preſent and all former Ages, that did abhor any ſuch Opinions, then all ingenuous Spirits will be moved with the Weight of ſuch an Authority.

Anſ. 2. And as the Churches Silence is ſufficient to quiet all Schiſms and Contentions, ſo for all other Matters that require our Belief and Practice, the Churches Definitions have given ſuch ample Directions, that in the Decrees and Traditions that are already ſet forth, there is abundantly enough to quiet all our Diſputes and Scruples. All the Articles of Faith, and all the neceſſary Rules of Government are ſo clearly decided, that there is no room left for farther Doubt about them, did men but think it their Duty to ſubmit to the Churches Authority, as it is moſt certain they ought to do; not to name any Hereſies that are now perhaps ſecretly held amongſt us that are evidently condemned by the Church, that very Principle of all Popery, and the Pillar that holds it up, namely the Popes Supremacy, is moſt manifeſtly condemned by all the General Councels that ever made any Canons, which

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are the four firſt, without any Controverſie; and by Virtue of thoſe Canons, as well as conſtant Tradition, the greater part of Biſhops by far, in all Ages, and even at this time do ſtrongly oppoſe that pretended Juriſdiction. I do know it is altogether as groundleſs in Scripture, and men may be ſatisfied from thence, that our Saviour gave him no ſuch Authority. But if it be left barely to the Diſputes of private men, the Romaniſts Interpretations of Scripture will be approved by their own Diſciples againſt ours, but when they find themſelves preſt with the Authority of the Church, and not referred to a ſingle Diſpute, the Evidence againſt them will be ſuch, as ingenuous men cannot withſtand it; but their Security is this, as they depart from the ancient Church in ſome things, ſo their Adverſaries do in others, and therefore they having a Body of longer Continuance, and more firmly rooted than any other in moſt of theſe Parts of the World, they will ſtill believe the Face of the Church is more viſible with them than any where elſe, and ſo whatſoever they have generally taught and received amongſt themſelves muſt go for the

the Christian Belief, and if they are not able to make it good by way of Argument, yet the multitude of Writers that they have, will make it appear more credible to the Vulgar in any Disputes, who are rather led by multitude than by Reason, of which they are not such competent Judges.

By all that has been said, it is evident, that nothing is laid down to derogate from the Fulness and Perspicuity of the Scriptures. But since God has been so gracious as to continue likewise a constant Succession and Authority in his Church, for our direction, why should we not pay that Duty which we owe to it, and make use of such Remedies as the Wisdom of God has ordained to quiet our Dissensions? For, unless we by our headiness cast off the Defence of the Catholick Church, and all her Laws, which are set to guard us from our Enemies, they will be an invincible Bulwark to secure us, neither need we fear any Adversaries can ever hurt us. Hitherto we have been so happy, as to keep within those Bounds, and God grant that our Faith, our Worship, our Government, and our decent Order, may still be preserved against Papists

piſts and Fanaticks, and that all negligent and luke-warm Non-conformiſts may ſee their own Errour, and the Churches Danger, by their imperfect Diſcharge of their Duty.

Now, after I have ſhewed what Reverence we ought to pay to the Church Univerſal; it is likewiſe to be conſidered, what charitable Cenſures we ought to paſs upon thoſe who Diſſent from our Judgment in other matters; & that is a very neceſſary Caution to be given; for Errours are of ſeveral ſorts, and Men may very well differ in ſome Opinions, and yet inviolably maintain the Peace and Unity of the Church; it will be ſufficient if there be a firm Aſſent to the Articles of the Church, and all things that are requiſite for the Support of the Communion wherein we live, and that is all that any one need deſire, ſo long as all thoſe Corruptions and Impieties that are generally complained of, will by this means be avoided; but yet it commonly falls out, that when turbulent Spirits cannot with Reaſon confute any Doctrine, or otherwiſe gain their Ends, they do not fail by ignominious Names and Aſperſions, to revenge themſelves of their Adverſaries,

ſaries, and this is pretty well ſeen by the Practice of both of theſe Factions I have been ſpeaking of. For the Papiſts on one ſide brand all with the name of Hereticks, that diſſent from them; and by that Means make them odious amongſt all their own Party, not for any real Crime, but only a frightful Word. On the other hand the Presbyterian Faction, finding themſelves unable to juſtifie their Opinions by Argument, calumniate all their Adverſaries with the name of Papiſts, that ſo they may ſtir up the ignorant Vulgar to a hatred of them. And thus pious *Melanchon* complains, that he was traduced for a Papiſt, becauſe he was not ſo furious as that hot-headed Party would have him; and this has been the Condition of the Biſhops of the Church of *England*, and other moderate and learned men of this Communion, and as long as men are upheld in this ſlanderous Humour, there can be no Hopes of Peace and Concord amongſt us. Nay further, the guilt of ſuch Calumniators is very heinous; for how much the more deteſtible thoſe Crimes of Hereſie and Popery are, ſo much the more injurious are they that wrongfully accuſe men thereof. Therefore

fore that Christians may avoid all such Danger in imputing such names: First, they must be sure what 'tis that makes a man a Heretick, or a Papist. Secondly, they must be certain that the Persons they accuse are guilty of those things. I shall wave the Consideration of Heresie now, and only in short consider what Popery is, and how falsly our Bishops are accused thereof; and this is very necessary to be thought on first of all; for we know that the Regular Apostolical Government by Episcopacy has been called Popery, so has the publick Liturgy or set Form of Prayer, stated times of Fasting and Humiliation, though warranted by the four first General Councels; so likewise solemn times of Thanksgiving in Memory of the great Mysteries of our Redemption, with other Seasons to praise God for the Examples of the Apostles and Martyrs; and of late, *Sandius* has said, that the Catholick Doctrine of the Trinity is Popery likewise. And the Reformation is imperfect till that be cast off, so that it is made a common Slander to expose any Persons or Doctrines to popular Fury. Popery then must not be what every one will fancy, but consists

chiefly in acknowledging the Bishop of *Rome* Christs Vicar upon Earth, and the supreme ecclesiastical Ordinary to whom all Christian Bishops and all others of the Christian Profession ought to pay Obedience and Subjection: and, as a Consequent thereof, to live in that Faith and Communion which he does publickly authorize and Command. So that it does not stand so much in particular Opinions, as Acknowledging his Jurisdiction and Government, and Conforming to that superstitious Worship which he does enjoyn. Now quite contrary to all these things the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England* do utterly renounce any such Jurisdiction and Supremacy; we do not think our selves bound to obey his Commands, but solemnly swear and protest against it. We have not their publick Worship, but a publick Liturgy of our own, established by legal Authority, and free from all Superstition and Corruption. We have Articles and Canons made in our Provincial Synods, to which we heartily assent and yield Obedience. We desire no other Doctrines to be defined, or new Laws to be made, but that all People in this Kingdom would

would live in true Obedience to God, and hearty Conformity to the present Constitutions. We do count it Schism, by reason of any pretended Authority of the Pope, or any other Teacher whatsoever, to withdraw from our Communion. So that when our Government, our Articles, our Liturgy, our Canons, are made contrary to the Commands of the Pope and the *Roman* Church, and we do profess all hearty Assent and Conformity to them, and endeavour to bring all others in our Church to the same Rule, it is the most malicious and groundless Slander to say we are Papists, as ever was uttered in the World.

And now, that I may conclude what I have to propose to those of the Church of *England*, Let all those that truly love God, the Peace of his Church, and the Salvation of their Souls, seriously lay these things to heart, and let not any sinister Ends, or affection to any Party or Interest, engage them to Act contrary to the established Religion amongst us; and seeing we have that happiness, to follow the Catholick Church in all her Precepts and Commands, let us maintain our Ground upon her Authority, and live like Bre-

thren, in all hearty Love and Friendſhip one towards another, forbearing all odious Reflections, and calumniating Slanders, that all our Adverſaries may be aſhamed and confounded, when they ſhall underſtand they oppoſe the Truth which is profeſſed by the Catholick Church, was ever maintained throughout all Ages, and is firmly built upon that Rock, againſt which the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail.

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CONSIDERATIONS TO PRESBYTERIANS.

CHAP. I.

Conſiderations offered to the Presbyterians; *with Inducements to return to the Catholick Church, and in order thereto to become intirely Conformable to the Church of* England.

THAT I may ſomewhat remove thoſe Prejudices you may conceive againſt me from that ſevere Charge of Schiſmatical and bloody Faction which I have drawn up againſt men of your Principles, I muſt declare, that it is not my Deſign to involve all the whole Party in the ſame Degree; for I do really believe there may be many religious and devout Souls amongſt them, who are wholly deceiv'd by ſpecious Pretences, without that Guilt and Malignity: And this is the Reaſon

why Seditions upon the Account of Religion are ſo formidable and dangerous, becauſe they are acted by a higher Zeal than any other Motives can give; and men think they carry on the Cauſe of God, and work out their own Salvation, while they fight under the Devils Banners, and ſheath their Sword in the Bowels of Chriſts Diſciples. Since therefore a wicked Work may many times be carried on with a good Intention, and thoſe that killed the Bleſſed Apoſtles thought they did God Service, do not ſtraight way condemn what I ſhall ſay, but argue with your ſelves; It may be poſſible many crafty Deceivers have abuſed your honeſt Intentions, to cloak their rebellious Inſurrections. You know the Devil is wont to transform himſelf into an Angel of Light; and moſt Commotions that ever were in the World, were ſtill carried on with a Pretence of Piety and Juſtice, the better to delude the ignorant Vulgar, who muſt bear the ſharpeſt Sufferings in any Tumults. The Sincerity then of your Deſigns will not be enough to juſtifie your Proceedings, if they appear not otherwiſe laudable and pious. Therefore you are to conſi-

conſider well, and be throughly aſſured you are in the Right, elſe it will prove an horrid Crime to venture your Blood-ſhed to rend and teare the Church in Pieces; and to lay the Foundation of perpetual Schiſms and Maſſacres.

Now that which has much contributed to theſe Calamities, is, the Want of the true Notion of Schiſm, and the thorow Senſe of the heinous Nature of that wicked Crime, which doth ſhelter and give occaſion for all other Villanies in the World to vent themſelves. I hope therefore if you are not ſo ſenſible of the Sin it ſelf from the Law of God, yet upon Conſideration of the direful Conſequences, and bloody Murders it has produced, and doth daily threaten us withal, you will begin to ſee the Wickedneſs of it, and think it the higheſt Concern of your Souls and Bodies to endeavour, as much as in you lies, to make way for a Remedy of this horrid Diviſion. We ſee Gods Wrath is kindled againſt us, and he does frequently poure down his Judgments upon our heads; and that we may not be ignorant what 'tis has provoked his Diſpleaſure, he has ſuffered Chriſtians to be the unnatural Inſtruments to puniſh

niſh one another, how long Lord, how long! 'tis high time you ſhould be moved with the Churches Wounds, and our own Calamities; therefore forbearing Recriminations, and being over curious in looking after the Defects of others; begin to conſider where you have been guilty of this fatal Breach: and though it muſt be confeſſed, that you were not the firſt Authors of it, yet you have been a great Means to widen the Differences, and ſo to keep up this unhappy Diviſion. The firſt Departure from the Churches Unity was made by the Papiſts, who have thereupon erected a Tyrannical Empire over their Brethren, and impoſed many Superſtitious and unjuſt Decrees upon Gods People: But you have likewiſe made a Seceſſion from the ancient Rule, and ſo have kept open the Rent another way. Therefore we can never hope for Peace and Concord till both your Innovations be taken away, and things be brought to that Order again, wherein they were eſtabliſhed before the Separation. All men know of what dangerous Conſequence it is, in any other matters, to remove ancient Bounds, and diſturb thoſe fixed Land-marks which their

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Fore-fathers have ſet. Whereupon it is the Wiſdom of all Nations to allow immemorial Cuſtoms, or things ſetled by long and uninterrupted Succeſſion to be ſacred and inviolable; and if at any time by Violence or Fraud, men are diſpoſſeſſed of their long enjoyed Uſages, there is ſeldome any Quietneſs till Matters are reſtored to their former Courſe. Neither is this Method improper, or to be laid aſide in compoſing the Churches Diviſions; we are always directed to enquire after the old Ways, and cautioned againſt Change and Innovation. The Scripture it ſelf refers us to the Churches Cuſtoms, *We have no ſuch Cuſtoms nor the Churches of God:* and even the renouned Counſel of *Nice* gives in Charge, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, let the ancient Cuſtoms ſtill be retained; and again we are farther warranted from Scripture, 2 *Theſ.* 2. 15. *Therefore Brethren ſtand faſt, hold the Traditions which ye have been taught, whether by Word, or our Epiſtle.* When Scripture, Reaſon, the Commands of the *Church*, and the common Uſage in all other things does direct us to keep to our Primitive Cuſtoms, and to avoid

Jer. 6. 16.

1 *Cor.* 11. 16.

Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.

avoid Innovations; nay when the very Miſchiefs we ſuffer by Change, do loudly call for our Return to the ancient Paths, you ſhould at length be ſenſible of your Error, and return to that Rule from whence you have departed; and it is very probable, had this Method been obſerved at the Beginning of the Reformation, by all thoſe who were concerned in it, we ſhould long e're this have enjoyed the Bleſſing of a happy Unity. But whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, it is the Duty of all ſober Chriſtians, to warn you of this Error, and to do what in them lyes to promote things that belong to Peace; and if there be the leaſt Grain of Charity and Love of Concord left in you, you would be willing to hearken to moderate Terms for Compoſing our Differences; Now that can never be thought reaſonable (as I laid down in the general Remedies) that we ſhould be both Parties and Judges, reſolved to be tried by Scripture in our own Senſe only, and allow of no other Interpretation but what agrees with our private Fancies: the Conſequence of this muſt be, that all other Parties will claim the ſame Liberty, and ſo the Diviſion

viſion muſt continue to the Worlds End. But I hope you will be better adviſed, and all rational men will think, ſince our Differences are brought to this Iſſue, that the Scripture is the Rule we acknowledge, and only diſagree about the Senſe; the Schiſm, and all the Miſchiefs thereof, muſt lye at their Doors who ſet up their own private Judgments againſt the Judgment of the whole Church, and call in queſtion and reject that which has been conſtantly held and maintained, ever ſince Chriſtianity was founded, and this has been a very great Hindrance to the Progreſs of the Reformation.

Sober and Learned men in the Church of *Rome* having been ſufficiently ſenſible, and often declared their Minds, that the Pope and Court of *Rome* have trangreſſed the ancient Bounds, and innovated highly againſt the Laws and Tradition of the Catholick Church; but when they find others deeply guilty in Departing from that Rule likewiſe, even caſting off the Rule it ſelf, and framing a Religion out of their own Heads and private Interpretations, though never ſo oppoſite to the Churches Traditions, nay contrary

trary to the received Faith, and necessary Foundations of the Christian Religion; as it is amongst them that embrace the *Socinian* and *Pelagian* Doctrine, together with their other Novelties; I say, when they heartily consider the Mischiefs that will follow from hence, they think it safer to maintain Communion in that Church (though full of Abuses) where their Faith is secure, than to hazard all by joyning to those that, when they please, will take no other Guide but their own private Sense of the Scripture: And when all moderate men are thus discouraged, and are content to lye silent, no wonder if the Factious and Schismatical Party obtrude their own Singularities without any Check and Controul, and draw in all the ignorant and unlearned to run with them into all Extravagancies they think necessary to the Upholding of their Cause, and with this farther Perswasion, that 'tis their Duty, and the Cause of God they promote; in the mean time other learned men amongst them see and lament these Evils, but by your leaving of the Churches Rule, they think they are left under an Impossibility to redress them.

them. But if you would effectually conform to the Catholick Church, and make her the Umpire of our Controverſies, then they would be ready to joyn with us, at leaſt to remedy theſe bloody and horrid Contentions, if there were no Hopes to compoſe leſſer Diſputes.

But if you are ſtill reſolved to keep to your Errors, the beſt that can be hoped for, is, that we may a little longer continue in this State of Contention, but one time or another I fear it will endanger the whole Reformation: for it can never be expected or thought, that ever the Chriſtian World ſhould new mould their Religion, and change their Ancien and Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, for your new and private Model that was lately invented (for ſo it will be ever eſteemed, however you may pretend to Scripture for your Foundation;) for you muſt not think you will be able to perſwade Chriſtian People, that the Ancient Church, and ſo many General Councels were ſo groſly impoſed upon in thoſe Matters, that there ſhould be made an univerſal Change from the Apoſtles Rule, and no

Foot-

Footſteps left when it was done, and no Body ſo honeſt as to complain of ſuch a Defection.

You know well enough, you have not only the Greek and Roman Churches againſt you, but even the moſt eminent amongſt the reformed Divines have complained of your Frowardneſs, and unreaſonable Itch after Novelty, ever ſince we have been freed from the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*.

Vid. Grot. Vot. pro Pace.

This being ſpoken in general, that you ought to return to the ancient Rules and Order of the Catholick Church, from which you have departed, 'tis time I ſhould come to ſhew particularly wherein you are moſt to blame.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Foreign Churches have, or deſire Biſhops.

AND firſt I will begin with thoſe of that Perſwaſion here in *England*, who though they would pretend to be of the ſame Opinion with thoſe of other Countries, yet they are infinitely different both in the Guilt and Malignity; for, in many of them it is rather an Infelicity than a Fault, and they are more to be pityed than cenſured for their Defect, though I will not ſay, that ſome of them are altogether void of Blame herein. But for our Diſſenters of that Opinion there can be no poſſible Excuſe, neither is there the leaſt Colour to free them from the moſt formal, flagrant, and unreaſonable Schiſm that ever yet ſtarted up in the Church. And I believe there is no ſettled Chriſtian Society of the reformed Churches, but will readily concur with the Church of *England* in their Condemnation; and for Satisfaction herein, I will ſet down their Sayings as I find them quoted by Arch-biſhop *Bancroft*. I not having thoſe Books by me.

Auguſt.

Auguſt. Confeſſ. *c.* 14. ſays, *it was not any Diſlike at Epiſcopal Government, but the Cruelty of the Popiſh Biſhops, who did by all means hinder the Reformation of Religion which did diſſolve that Government and canonical Polity which we earneſtly deſire to preſerve.*

Again we will have it teſtified, that we ſhall willingly keep ſtill the Eccleſiaſtical and Canonical Polity, if ſo be the Biſhops will forbear to rage againſt our Churches; this is our Will, and it ſhall excuſe us before God, amongſt all Nations, to all Poſterity, that it cannot be imputed to us that the Authority of Biſhops is decayed.

We have already often times teſtified, that we not only *with greateſt Piety that can be, do reverence that Eccleſiaſtical Power inſtituted in the Goſpel, but alſo do very much approve the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and Degrees in the Church, and deſire to keep it as much as we can.*

We do not refuſe the Authority of Biſhops, if ſo be they do not compell us to do againſt the Word of God; this our Will ſhall deliver us before God, and in the Judgment of all our Poſterity, that we be not guilty of that Schiſm, which at the Beginning was raiſed at the unjuſt Condemning of the Doctrine of Luther.

Apol.

Apol. August. Confess. *pag.* 137. *We do here protest, and we would have it recorded that we would willingly preserve the Ecclesiastical and Cannonical Polity, if the Bishops would cease to tyrannize over our Churches: This our Mind or Desire shall excuse us with all Posterity both before God and all Nations, that it may not be imputed unto us that the Authority of Bishops is overthrown by us.* *Ibid. pag.* 305.

I would to God (saith Melancthon) *I would to God it lay in me to restore the Government of Bishops; for I see what manner of Church we shall have, the Ecclesiastical Polity being dissolved, I do see that hereafter will grow up a greater Tyranny in the Church, than before.*

There will be a wonderful Confusion of Churches left to our Posterity, except they may be now joyned together again, and have certain Bishops who may be inforced to govern the Churches, and look unto them more diligently than in times past they have been looked unto. By what Right or Law may we dissolve the Ecclesiastical Polity, if the Bishops will grant us that which in Reason they ought to grant. And if it were lawful for us so to do, yet surely it were not expedient. Luther *was ever of that Opinion, whom many for no other Cause,* *Eras. Ebner. ad Hieron. ibid. pag.* 310. *Melancth. to Camerar. in Hist. Conf. August. per Chytr. p.* 389.

I see do love; but for that they think they have cast off their Bishops by Means of him, and have obtained a Liberty which will not be profitable for our Posterity: For tell me, what Estate will the Churches be in hereafter if all the old Orders be abolished, and that there be no certain Rulers ordained?

Concion. Georg. Princip. Anhalt. fol. 61.

Georg. Prince of Anhalt *&c. Would to God those that carry the Names and Titles of Bishops, would shew themselves to be Bishops indeed. I wish they would teach nothing which is disagreeable to the Gospel, but rule their Churches thereby; and O how willingly, and with what Joy of Heart would we receive them for our Bishops, reverence them, obey them, and yield them their Jurisdiction and Ordination! which we always, and Master* Luther *both in his Words and Writings, very often have professed.*

Calvin de necessit. reform. Eccl.

If they would bring unto us such an Hierarchy, or Priestly Government, wherein the Bishops shall so rule, as that they refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, that they so depend on him, as their only Head, and be content to refer themselves to him; in which Priestly Government let them so keep brotherly Society among themselves, that they be knit together by no other Rule, than

than by the Truth, then ſurely if there ſhall be any that ſhall not ſubmit themſelves to that Hierarchy or prieſtly Government reverently, and with the greateſt Obedience that may be, I confeſs there is no kind of Anathema, or Curſe, or Caſting to the Devil, whereof they are not worthy.

And that theſe are not empty Words and Profeſſions, is evident; becauſe in thoſe Churches which are the Remains of the ancient *Bohemians*, and are now in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, there are ſingle Perſons, who exerciſe all Eccleſiaſtical Authority that Biſhops do, and are called by the name of Biſhops likewiſe, and in moſt other Reformed Churches, except in *France* and *Holland*, they have a ſingle Perſon by the Name of Superintendent, who does exerciſe Epiſcopal Authority. And as for the Churches of *France*, Dr. *Moulin*, and Dr. *Durell* have given the World abundant Satisfaction, that 'tis not the Diſlike of the Government it ſelf, but the Neceſſity of their Condition, that makes them to want the Epiſcopal Order.

See Biſhop *Fern* againſt *Champney* pag. 94.

Dr. *Moulin*, as I find him quoted by Biſhop *Fern* (for I have not his Book) to ſhew, if they might have their Choice, they would willingly have Biſhops,

tells us, *That the Bishop of* Troyes *having abjured Popery, began to preach the pure Word of God, and sent for the Elders of the reformed Churches, to know whether they would confirm and Acknowledge him for their* Bishop; *which they all with one Consent did, submitting themselves to his Obedience; and then adds, there is none, I dare say of all the Churches of* France, *but would do as much in the like Case: none but would obey* Bishops, *if* Bishops *would reform, and obey God.* And in another Place of his Book, *the Church of* France *being under the Cross, and without* Bishops, *is prepared for Obedience, whensoever the Popish* Bishops *shall reform:* And then quotes the Testimony of *Zanchy*, saying, *I protest before God, and in my Conscience, that I hold them no better than Schismaticks, that account, or make it a Part of the Reformation to have no* Bishops &c.

Of the Reformed Church. pag. 118.

And Dr. *Durell* does say of them, they are so far from condemning that Government, as evil and unlawful, that they rather wish they were in a Condition to enjoy the Benefit thereof. Most of them not sticking to say plainly, (as was before observed) that if

if all the Kingdom of *France* ſhould embrace the Reformed Doctrine, they muſt of Neceſſity have Biſhops, and they would freely ſubmit to them.

And for the Churches of *Holland*, *Bogermannus*, who was Preſident at the Synod of *Dort*, did declare, that it was their unhappineſs they had not Epiſcopal Government amongſt them; plainly intimating, that they did deſire to have it if they could. So that 'tis rather ſecular Intereſt than any real Exception that ſober men make againſt the Order it ſelf, that hinders the Settlement of it where it is wanting. *O Domine nos non ſumus adeo fælices.*

Now let us take notice what the Divines of other Churches ſay concerning thoſe who reject the Order of Biſhops, and refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch Biſhops as profeſs the Reformed Religion. I will name onely two, but they are the moſt Learned that ever wrote in Defence of Presbytery.

The firſt is *Beza*, who counts it *no leſs than madneſs* to reject all the Order of *Biſhops*; and *God forbid*, ſayes he, *that any man, who is not diſtracted, ſhould be of that mind.* Again, *If the Church of* *Durell* of the Reformed Churches. p. 167, 168.

England, *after her restauration, doth maintain it self, and is upheld by the Authority of her Bishops and Arch-bishops; as we remember, that she had not only signal Martyrs of God, but likewise most excellent Pastors and Doctors amongst the Persons of that Order, let her enjoy by all means, that singular* Benefit *of God, and God grant that it be perpetual unto her.*

See Dr. *Moulins* Letter in *Durell.* P. 339.

The next is Mr. *David Blondel*, who concluded his *Apologia pro Hieronymo*, with words to this purpose: *By all that we have said to assert the Right of the Presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and Apostolical Constitution of Episcopal Preheminence: but we believe, whereſoever it is established conformably to the ancient Canons, it must be carefully preserved, and whereſoever by some Heat of Contention, or otherwise, it hath been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored.* But by the unwearied Importunity of the Agents of the Assembly of Divines, he was prevailed upon to leave it out, but not to retract his Opinion. And now if we look into the ancient Church, there is scarce any Council General, or Particular, any Father or Catholick Writer but does severely censure those that did not

obey

obey their own Biſhop, and who did offer to erect Altar againſt Altar, as the greateſt Violaters of the Chriſtian Religion. And if any one is not ſufficiently convinced how juſtly they did anathematize ſuch Proceedings, let him but look back to that horrid Schiſm here in *England*, and the direful Treaſons, Murders, Sacrileges, that boundleſs Flood of Atheiſm, Prophaneneſs, and all manner of Impiety, to the utter Subverſion of our Church and Nation, that followed upon the Taking away Biſhops in *England*. Whereby that Maxim of King *James* was by ſad Experience verified; *no Biſhop, no King.*

And though the Providence of God has in ſome Meaſure delivered us from that Confuſion, and by a Miracle reſtored us to our former Order in ſome Degree; yet the Miſchiefs were ſo many, and ſo great, that were brought upon us, that we can never hope to ſee an end of them; and perhaps our Poſterity for many Ages may feel the Effects of that Bloody Schiſm.

CHAP. III.

Epiſcopacy of Divine Right.

NEither is the Schiſm only ſo deadly, but the Grounds of it are altogether as weak and unreaſonable; the Bottom of all is, their Envy againſt Epiſcopacy; and that, if it be throughly ſearched into, proceeds from Pride, and not being willing to ſubject themſelves to thoſe Governours whom God hath ſet over them, but challenging all Power and Dominion to themſelves. Now the greateſt Strength they have to Religion, is not ſo much Scripture, as the Interpretation of St. *Hierom*, whoſe ſingle Authority they oppoſe to the Tradition of the whole Church in this matter, though neither herein will they aſſent wholly to him, but as far as ſerves their preſent Deſign.

The Root of the whole Controverſie lyes in the Word πρεσβύτερος, which they will have to be uſed promiſcuouſly in Scripture for thoſe that are now called Presbyters, as well as Biſhops in the ſtricter Notion. And herein

herein I confeſs, they have St. *Hierom* on their ſide, who does in his Epiſtle to *Evagrius*, and in his Comment upon *Titus*, endeavour to prove that the Word πρεσβύτερος in Scripture, was common to both Orders, and does ſeem to intimate, that there was a Parity likewiſe in the Order it ſelf at the firſt; till the Apoſtles finding by Experience that great Diſſenſion, and continual Schiſm, that would ariſe from ſuch an Equality, by the Example of the Contention that was at *Corinth*, one pretending to be the Diſciple of *Paul*, another of *Apollos*, another of *Cephas*: therefore to avoid this Miſchief, by the Direction of the Holy Ghoſt they ordained, that, through-*&c.* the World, *toto orbe decretum eſt* and one ſhould be ſet over the reſt, that the Seed of Schiſm might be taken away. Now one would think they ſhould find little Satisfaction in St. *Hierom's* Opinion; for if the Apoſtles themſelves, who were guided by the Spirit, did think it neceſſary to inſtitute Epiſcopal Superiority, and commit the Care of the Church to the Biſhop only, for the preventing of Schiſms; Methinks after-Ages ſhould not

Vid Hieron. in Titum.

not be ſo bold, as to hope to keep Schiſms out of the Church any other way. Neither can it be thought, that they would make any alteration without the higheſt reaſon, and without ſome intimation, that it was to be temporary, unleſs they did intend it ſhould alwayes continue.

But others, with better reaſon, think this opinion of *Jerom*'s to be groundleſs, for it can never be thought our Saviour ſhould ſo little fore-ſee future Events, as to eſtabliſh ſuch a Government in his Church, which his Apoſtles ſhould ſee reaſon to change. So much therefore of St. *Hierom* they think fit to Aſſent to (and he is an undeniable Witneſs of the Truth herein) that this Epiſcopal Authority was with the Approbation, and in the Times of the Apoſtles; and then Reaſon will eaſily convince any Sober Perſons, that it was from the very Beginning, even from Chriſt himſelf. So that St. *Hierom*'s opinion do's not at all invalidate the Churches Tradition. His Miſtake is onely about the Interpretation of ſome Texts of Scripture, wherein 'tis very common for the Fathers to differ from the Truth, and from one another. And many times they uſe Arguments

guments not so firm to prove a true Conclusion; and in this point, That Episcopal Superiority was ever acknowledged, and submitted to in the Church, as derived from Apostolical and Divine Institution, they do all concur, to give a ready, and uniform Assent; which is as much as we can desire for our satisfaction in any point that is called in question in these latter dayes.

Neither is it a new Invention to depart from St. *Hierom*'s opinion in this matter. St. *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret* do interpret this word πρεσβύτεροι, onely of Bishops, and thereupon St. *Chrysostom* on those words, *with the Laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*, says, that is, of the Bishops; ἐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνουν, *for Presbyters did never ordain a Bishop*; and *Epiphanius* do's blame *Aerius* for being an Heretick upon this very Score, because he did affirm, that single Presbyters had the power of Ordination, alleging this Text, *With the Laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*, for it. 1 Tim. 4. 14.

St. *Augustin* and *Philastrius* do likewise reckon him among the Hereticks for this Opinion. The Tradition then be-

being clear, and the Churches Censure being undoubted, against any that did offer to resist this Government, or go about to set up another, we will see whether in the Scripture it self there be not a fair Foundation for the Churches Doctrine.

Now 'tis evident, that the Apostles did as well severally as joyntly ordain Elders, found Churches, set in Order things that were wanting; and it is altogether as plain, they left it in the hands of single Persons, to exercise like Authority. Thus *Timothy* is charged *to lay hands* 1 Tim. 5. 22. *suddenly upon no man.* He is to receive Accusations against Elders, *but not under two* 1 Tim. 5. 19. *or three Witnesses.* He is to see that a Liturgy be appointed, that *Prayers and* 1. Tim. 2. 1. *Supplications, and giving of Thanks be made for all men.*

And *Titus*, a single Person, is left in Crete *to set in Order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City*, Tit. 1. 5. Neither can any other firm Reason be given, why the Apostle, describing the Qualifications and Office of a Bishop, should always speak in the singular Number δεῖ τ̀ ἐπίσκοπον, *a Bishop must be &c.* but that he was a single Officer with sole Power in himself.

And

And St. *John*, who lived longeſt of any of the Apoſtles, in his Book of *Revelations*, mentions Letters directed to the Angels of the ſeven Churches, to each Angel ſeverally. And the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira* is blamed, for ſuffering falſe Teachers to ſeduce the People; which is a plain Indication that the Power of hindering it, and ſtopping their Mouths, was in one ſingle Perſon. And if we may credit Eccleſiaſtical Story, the ſame St. *John* went about founding Biſhopricks, and ordained Biſhops throughout *Aſia minor*, in the latter end of his Days. And ſo did the reſt of the Apoſtles, as *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* do witneſs. Rev. 2.18.

And that all Churches were Governed by ſingle Perſons is ſo evident, that the very names ſucceſſively from the Apoſtles time, are ſtill extant; nay the greateſt Advocates for Preſbytery do readily confeſs, that the Epiſcopacy now ſetled was planted all over the World within forty years after St. *John's* Death.

Now ſince each Apoſtle in his ſingle Perſon had the full Power of all Government in the Church, and they left other ſingle Perſons with the like Authority, and all Monuments of Hiſtory do

do witneſs, that it ever ſo continued, that is a Demonſtration that this was the Order left by Chriſt himſelf. Therefore to reject it, cannot be without the higheſt Schiſm & Diſobedience. All that remains to the full clearing of this matter, is to give Anſwer to the Objections out of Scripture, which are all grounded upon the ſingle Meaning of the word πρεσβύτεροι, as I ſaid before. Now in anſwering theſe Objections, learned men have gone ſeveral ways; but ſurely any one would think thoſe Interpretations moſt rational, that beſt agree to the Tradition of the Church. You have heard St. *Hierom's* Opinion, that the Order indeed was one at the firſt; but the Parity was taken away by the Apoſtles, to avoid Schiſm.

St. *Chryſoſtom*, and others think the word properly to ſignifie Biſhops only; neither is it at all unlikely, that being the proper word for the chief Governours in all Countries and Languages, thus זקנים amongſt the *Hebrews*, and *Senatores* amongſt the *Latines*, and in the ſame manner πρεσβύτεροι amongſt the Greeks, and in moſt modern Languages alſo.

Nei-

Neither is it improbable to ſuppoſe, if all Church-Officers were called by that name, yet there might be a Difference in their Order, and extent of their Power, and thoſe that are alſo called Biſhops, to have the fulneſs of all Power and Juriſdiction, and thoſe that were ſingle Prieſts, to have part onely, and the Tradition of the Church might very well declare how far it did extend, and where it was bounded.

Others do think, that the word πρεσβύτερος in Scripture, as often as it do's denote a Church-officer onely, is never attributed to any but Biſhops, in the ſtricteſt notion: neither can it ever be proved to the contrary. And then, as to the Objection, Where then do we find mention made of Prieſts, or the ſecond Order, in Holy Scripture? They anſwer, that they are meant by the word διάκονοι. Accordingly, *Clemens Romanus* quoting that Text out of the Old Teſtament, concerning the Chriſtian Paſtors, renders it by the names of ἐπισκόπους, καὶ διακόνους and then all will be clear. Neither is this Interpretation improbable, for the word διάκονος, is taken very honourably in Scripture; our Lord himſelf is ſtyled διάκονος περιτομῆς, and the

Iſa. 60. 17.

the Apoſtles are ſtyled διάκονοι τῦ λόγυ. *Archippus*, whom moſt ſuppoſe to be a
Ro. 15. 8. Biſhop, or a Prieſt at leaſt, is exhorted to fulfill τλὴ διακονίαν. So that theſe διάκονοι τῦ λόγυ, are diſtinguiſhed from the διάκονοι τῶν τραπεζῶν *Act.* 6. And even their Deſcription in St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, being not much inferiour to that of a Biſhop, does ſeem rather to agree to the Prieſts, as they are now called, than to a Deacon ſtrictly taken.

Beſides, that the Apoſtle ſhould ſay δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, and then come and add, οἱ διάκονοι in the plural Number, does better agree with the Churches Tradition, than any other Notion.

For the Biſhop was always but one, and many times the Deacon but one, but always very few in Compariſon of the number of Prieſts. At *Rome* there were but ſeven Deacons, and many Prieſts, when St. *Hierom* writes his Epiſtle to *Evagrius*, and blames the Deacons inſolence againſt the Prieſts, becauſe they were fewer in Number.

And yet farther, this Order does agree to the Conſtitution of the Church-Government under the Old Teſtament, to which St. *Hierom* does reſemble the Government of the Chriſtian Church, and

and ſayes, it was ſo ſettled by Apoſtolical Tradition. Hence, in his Epiſtle to *Evagrius*, he ſayes, That we may know the Apoſtolical Tradition, What *Aaron* and his Sons, the Prieſts and the Levites were under the Law, That are Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons under the Goſpel. And, leſt we ſhould think (as ſome have done) that the oppoſition was onely to Levites, he ſayes in his Epiſtle to *Nepotianus*, *Quod Aaron, & Sacerdotes, hoc Epiſcopi & Presbyteri*, what *Aaron* and the Prieſts were, that are Biſhops and Prieſts.

But that which will be ſtill moſt urgent againſt all Presbyterians, is this: By what Right they can challenge the Authority of being Miniſters of the Goſpel, without a ſpecial Call and Vocation? It is not a Criticiſm, and nicety of their own, that can give them this power of being Miniſters of Chriſt. Under the Law, *Moſes* did ſolemnly and openly conſecrate *Aaron* and his Sons. Our Saviour Chriſt himſelf did viſibly Conſtitute, and ſend forth his Apoſtles, and the Apoſtles did as evidently leave this Power to the Biſhops, or prime Presbyters. But that any Claſſis of inferiour Perſons, leſs than a Biſhop, could

ever ordain any to that Office was never known nor heard of, for fifteen hundred years together; nor the leaſt footſteps, or intimation that any ſuch thing ever could be done, or accounted valid.

If it were in a private Matter, and contrary to no Rule nor Practice, it would be a very great raſhneſs and bold Attempt, to challenge ſuch a Power, meerly upon a critical and forced Interpretation; but to make a Schiſm, and Rent in the Church upon this account, to oppoſe the Tradition of fifteen hundred years, and to begin a thing never heard of before, againſt the ſenſe of the major part of Chriſtian Paſtors in all former Ages, and at this time likewiſe, is a thing groundleſs, and wholly inexcuſable. And there can never be any hopes of Peace or Quiet in the Church, till they do reform their Judgments or Practice in this matter.

I know what clamour and out-cry will be made at this, and preſently it will be ſaid, What, will you deſtroy all the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas?

To which I anſwer, as I did in the beginning. Their Caſe is not the ſame, but

but far different from yours in *England*. But if there be any of them that Dogmatize, and deſpiſe the Churches Government, and ſay they want no better Conſtitution, all ſuch ignorant Zealots, I muſt reckon in the ſame Condemnation with you. But I know there are many who are of another Perſwaſion, and count it their greateſt infelicity, that they have not this Apoſtolical Government amongſt them, and perhaps may be in ſuch Circumſtances, that it is not any ways in their power to remedy this miſchief.

And though this does not leave them under an Impoſſibility of Salvation, while theſe Impediments do continue, yet there lies a continual Obligation upon them, to deſire and endeavour to return to that Order, from whence they are by neceſſity driven away, and to conform to the Laws of God, and the Order of the Church, which by this means has been unhappily broken. So that the Condition of theſe People is much like that of a Company of lay-Perſons caſt upon ſome remote Iſland or Continent, where they had no Prieſts nor could any ways procure any. They might (no queſtion) for the preſent ap-

point ſome amongſt themſelves that were beſt qualified, to aſſiſt and direct them in the Service of God, during that Neceſſity. But ſtill they would be bound to pray to God for, and willingly to receive Miniſters duely ordained, and to ſeek and ſend after them, if they could any where be had.

Biſhop *Fern* againſt *Champney.* p. 128.

And thus much is ſaid by Biſhop *Fern. We cannot judge Proteſtants that want Biſhops, no Churches or Congregations of Chriſtians, but look upon them as Churches not completed, or regularly formed, and excuſe their Defects ſo far, as they are enforced on them by Neceſſity, and conclude them bound to ſeek their Completion, and a Supply of their Defects, from thoſe that have Biſhops, and hold the Ancient and Apoſtolical way of the Church.*

And though, while they continue under theſe Difficulties, God would in Probability, accept the good Will for the Deed, and not impute their want of regular Sacrament, to their Condemnation, yet 'tis probable they would miſs much of the Comfort and Benefit, that they might receive from that ſacred Ordinance.

Neither is this hard to ſuppoſe, becauſe it muſt be either their Fault, or their

their Puniſhment, that they were put into ſuch a Condition; and if it was either, they might juſtly be denyed many of thoſe Bleſſings which others do enjoy, till by ſignal Repentance and Imploring Gods Mercy they obtain the Favour of being reſtored to the Fulneſs of his Gifts, and Graces. So that I muſt not ſtick to ſay, that thoſe Churches, whatſoever they are that want ſuch Paſtors amongſt them, they are in an imperfect State, want much of the Comforts of the Goſpel, and it is a great Puniſhment of God that lyes upon them. And I think it very likely, that God does ſuffer theſe horrid Confuſions upon the account of Religion, partly to avenge the Neglect and Errour of of ſome that are guilty herein, as well as to put them in mind to ſeek after the Churches Unity and Order.

But then for any who may enjoy all the Bleſſings of the Goſpel, and all the Ordinances and Sacraments of the New Covenant in their perfection, and conform both to the Laws of God and the Church, where all things are good, and according to the Divine Appointment; without any Diſpute and Controverſie, to leave theſe and run into Corners, and hearken

en to thoſe that only ſend themſelves, make a Religion, and Sacrament of their own, without any Warrant or Authority, is the moſt unreaſonable, and unjuſtifiable Schiſm, that ever was heard of.

I hope therefore all ſober Perſons that live in the Church of *England*, will bethink themſelves, and abhor any ſuch Thoughts. And if any have inconſiderately been drawn away to a Complyance herein, they will ſeriouſly conſider the Miſchief and Errours they have been in, and ever hereafter renounce and diſclaim the Appearance of any ſuch Evil.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Pretence of Conſcience.

HAving ſpoken to the main Principle of *Presbyterianiſm*, and endeavoured to ſhew the Vanity and Danger thereof, I hope I may with greater eaſe paſs on to the leſſer Difficulties they raiſe againſt Conformity to the Church. And firſt to the pretence of Conſcience; which,

which, as it is commonly urged and alleged, is the High way to make every man a Pope, and will lead to a greater miſchief than Popery it ſelf. For, to ſay a thing is lawful or unlawful, becauſe their Conſcience tells them ſo, is a thing that never was heard of, I think, in the World, before this generation of men found it out. For, Conſcience it ſelf is no Rule of Right or Wrong, but is alwayes to follow the Rule of another. that is ſet in Authority over it; no man therefore muſt take upon him to ſay, This or that is unlawful, becauſe I do not like it, or it do's not agree with my mind; but this, or that do's not agree with my mind, and is unlawful, becauſe it is againſt ſome Law of God or Man which I am bound to obey. And then the pretence of Conſcience may be wholly laid aſide, and they may preſently ſhew, there is ſuch a Law againſt this or that thing, and therefore they cannot ſubmit to it.

But then they muſt ſhew ſome Law of God, that forbids them to obſerve any of thoſe things that are Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and ſo we ſhall come to a ſhort Iſſue, and all the Diſpute will be, whether that Law be

rightly underſtood by Diſſenters, or if it be likely, that the Church of God ſhould all along continue in Error, and never be ſenſible of it, and not underſtand the meaning of that place before their Time. Are they ſo acute and eminent in Learning above all others? Is their Skill in all other Points of Divinity, anſwerable to their quick Sight in this pretended Controverſie? If none of theſe things do appear, I hope ſober and wiſe men will think it more likely, that they may be miſtaken in their Interpretation, than the Church. The Pretence of Conſcience alone being not a ſufficient Excuſe, unleſs they can ſhew ſome rightly applyed Rule, by which their Conſcience is guided. That is the thing they muſt firſt name, that Law of God which the Church of *England* does offend againſt, or elſe I am ſure the Law of God does expreſsly require them to yield Obedience to her Commands.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Rites not commanded in Scripture.

WHEN they are driven from this Shift, they fly to another altogether as groundleſs and unreaſonable, *viz.* That nothing muſt be uſed in the Worſhip of God, but what is expreſsly commanded in the Word of God; but it may be demanded, where is there any ſuch Law? that they muſt confeſs cannot be found. But they think the Scripture being all along, in the Church, held to be a ſufficient Rule, they thence may infer, that nothing muſt be uſed in the Service of God, but what is there preſcribed. But their Concluſion is ſhort many ways; for firſt, the meaning of that Principle touching the Scriptures Sufficiency, is not to exclude the Law of Nature, and the common Rules of Prudence, which are antecedent to the Scripture it ſelf, but to take away all Obligation to obey any poſitive Doctrines of humane Invention, or any new ſacramental Rites with Power to confer Grace, wch ſome have ſuperſtitiouſly impoſed upon the Church: But it is not at all meant to contradict

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the Rules of Order and Decency in the Worſhip of God, which being commanded in general terms, it muſt be liſt to the diſcretion of our Governours, to give Commands concerning the particular Circumſtances and Rites we are to obſerve.

And all thoſe innocent Rites and Conſtitutions that are uſed in the Church of *England*, are grounded upon the general Precepts of the Word of God, and thoſe common Rules of Prudence which right reaſon do's teach. Whereupon, they ſerve either to help our Memories, ſtir up our Affections, or elſe to keep up the Solemnity and comlineſs of the Worſhip and Service of God. Thus the Sign of the Croſs, as it is a Monument of Antient Devotion, in Memory of our Saviour's Paſſion, ſo it is apt to put us in mind of our Lord's Death and Crucifixion, and that we muſt look to follow him in the like Tribulations and Sufferings: and this is all that is intended by it, without aſcribing any Sacramental Efficacy to its Uſage.

The Surplice, as it is a Decent Garment, ſo it puts us in mind of that Angelical Simplicity and Purity we ought to expreſs in our Lives and Actions.

Muſick,

Muſick, as it did raiſe *David*'s Soul, ſo we find it very uſeful to ſtir up in us moſt Heavenly Affections.

Since likewiſe the Scripture do's require we ſhould obſerve times of Faſting, and Publick dayes of Thankſgiving, the Church has thought fit, that all may agree in the ſame times, to appoint thoſe Solemn, ſtated Faſts and Feaſts, which the Piety and Example of the Antient Church had committed down to us by their Holy Obſervance and Devotion.

And what hindrance to Piety can it poſſibly be, to meet at certain dayes to praiſe God for the great Myſteries of our Redemption, and to celebrate the Gifts of God which he beſtowed upon the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and thereby to ſtir up our minds to Holy Patience, and imitation of their bleſſed Examples; and, that we may the better meditate on thoſe things, to prepare our ſelves by Faſting and Prayer, that God would accept our Perſons and Service? So that all that is done in this kind is, but fitting thoſe General Rules in Holy Scripture to particular Circumſtances, as in the Wiſdom of the Church is thought to make moſt for God's Glory and man's Edification. And

And let all Sober men conſider how groundleſs and unreaſonable the Quarrel about Ceremonies, is. The light of Nature do's teach us, that, about all Humane Actions, there muſt of Neceſſity, be thoſe circumſtances of Time, Place, Habit, Mode, and Geſture; and the Uſage of Mankind has made ſome of theſe more proper than others, for certain actions and occaſions. Thus Kneeling and Standing are more proper Geſtures for Prayer, than Sitting or Lying along. So thoſe Habits which have been long worn by certain Orders and Degrees of men, for diſtinction ſake, are counted more honourable and decent than others. And now becauſe the Church do's follow Nature herein, and obſerve thoſe Circumſtances and Forms which the common ſenſe of Mankind has judged moſt comely and ſolemn, ſhe is accuſed of Superſtition: but with what little reaſon, all men muſt ſee, who read St. *Paul*, who commands that *all things in the Worſhip of God ſhould be done decently, and in order.*

But he do's not tell us what that Decency and Order is, but leaves it to right Reaſon, and the Cuſtom and Uſage of Mankind to accommodate theſe Circumſtances, as there ſhall be occaſion.

And

And as Time and Place, Habit and Geſture, muſt be determined by Chriſtian Prudence, ſo likewiſe muſt Modes of Worſhip, as, Praying with a Book, or without a Book, the Form and Order of the Prayer we are to uſe; but ſtill with Reſpect to publick Decency, and as it is moſt apt to ſtir up Peoples Affections, & is moſt ſuitable to their Underſtandings.

And for that end Reſponſes and alternate ejaculations by Prieſt and People are thought very uſeful; wherefore Mr. *Baxter* well obſerves, *It was the Decay of Zeal in the People that firſt ſhut out the Reſponſes; the Uſe of the Tongue keepeth the Mind awake, and ſtirreth up Gods Graces in his Servants*; and what he ſays of other external Circumſtances is altogether as rational *Temples, Utenſils*, &c. devoted and lawfully ſeparated by man for Holy Uſes, are holy, as juſtly related to God by that lawful Separation. Miniſters are more holy than Temples, Lands, Utenſils; as being nearlier related to holy things. And things ſeparated by God, are more holy than thoſe juſtly ſeparated by man; and ſo every thing ſhould be reverenced according to the Meaſure of its Holineſs, and this expreſſed by ſuch Signs, Geſtures, Actions, as are fitteſt to honour God, to whom they are related: And ſo, to be unco-

Chriſtian Directory pag. 856.

Chriſtian Directory pag. 915. qu. 170.

uncovered in the Church, and uſe reverent Carriage, and Geſture there, doth tend to preſerve the due Reverence to God, and to his Worſhip. 1 *Cor.* 16. 20.

CHAP. VI.

Of Praying by the Spirit.

BUT farther, perhaps ſome will object, that they are required in the Word of God, to pray by the Spirit, whereas in the Church of *England* they muſt joyn in Prayers that are read out of a Book, and therefore not dictated by the Spirit. This is an Argument that ſome ignorant Diſſenters do often uſe, But 'tis ſuch as their wiſeſt men are aſhamed of: Therefore ſome of their great Teachers blame them for reſtraining Praying by the Spirit, to extemporary Prayer; and ſay, it ought to be called a Habit of Prayer, and confeſs that the Spirit may go along with our Devotion, and beget in the Heart a deep Senſe of Sin and of the Love of God, and an earneſt Deſire of Mer-

Mercy, though it be expreſſed out of a Book; ſo that there are many Miſtakes in the common Notion of Praying by the Spirit; as it is underſtood by thoſe men: as, firſt they beg that which they can never prove, that thoſe Words and Expreſſions are dictated by the Holy Ghoſt; when all men know they may proceed as well from a natural Habit, and many profane men, nay Conjurers that were acted by the Devil, have excelled many of their greateſt Proficients in this kind of Prayer. Secondly they do not underſtand, what 'tis to pray by the Spirit, which in the proper meaning is nothing elſe, but to have our Minds ſo guided and influenced from the Spirit, that our Hearts go along with the words that we expreſs. Now who does ever doubt but the Apoſtles did pray by the Spirit, when they uſed that Form of Prayer that our Saviour gave them and commanded them to uſe? And I hope they do think that they themſelves do pray by the Spirit, when they joyn in Prayer with one that prays *Extempore*. But whatever it be in him, it is a Form to them; and ſuppoſe the Prayer be ſo good, as we think he is guided by the Spirit that uſes it, they

may

may as well conclude, that the Spirit of God did guide thoſe who made the Common Prayer, as certainly it did; and ſo thoſe that heartily joyn in it, do pray likewiſe by the Spirit. And this is the readieſt way to be ſure that we do pray by the Spirit, unleſs we knew the Spirit which did dictate their Prayers, was always infallible, which they will not ſay, becauſe they acknowledge that theſe Extempore Prayers are many times ſtuft with falſe Doctrine, many unlawful things that cannot be aſcribed to the Holy Ghoſt, at beſt frequent Tautologies, indiſcreet, undecent Phraſes, not becoming the Majeſty of God; ſo that they do not proceed from the Spirit of God, and therefore thoſe that joyn in them do not pray by the Spirit. But now the Prayers that are preſcribed in the Church of *England* are all taken out of the Word of God, which was dictated by the Spirit, and ſo we are ſure, if we heartily offer up them, we ſpeak to God what is the Mind of his Spirit; whereas in *Extempore* Prayers, at the beſt 'tis but uncertain, and it muſt be a great Hinderance to Devotion to ſit Judge firſt of the Fitneſs of every Word, before they can offer it

up.

up. Now in the publick Prayers all this is done to our Hands, and we may conſider of it. And at the time of Prayer, we have nothing elſe to do but to fix our Minds to be intent and fervent at our Prayers.

CHAP. VII.

Of Neglect of Diſcipline, and Joyning in Communion where wicked Perſons are preſent.

BUT laſtly, when they can find nothing againſt which they can juſtly except in the Churches Rule, they betake themſelves to a ſure Refuge, the Manners and evil Lives of many of our Communion, and then the great Neglect of Diſcipline in the Church. This was the old Phariſaical Complaint againſt our Saviour and his Apoſtles, that he was a Friend of Publicans and Sinners, as if he did not ſhew ſo much outward Zeal for Holineſs. as they did pretend to. But notwithſtanding all their Counterfeit Sanctity, they had many a Woe pronounced againſt them

by our Lord, for their Hypocriſie, and Want of true love of God, and ſo will all thoſe be condemned, that make other mens faults a cloak for their Separation from the Church. It can be no more prejudice to our Church, that wicked men are in the viſible Communion thereof, than it was to our Saviour to admit all Comers to the Fellowſhip of his Diſciples. Nay *Judas*, a wicked man, was permitted to be in his own Family and to partake of the Sacrament with the reſt, and yet no man durſt blame their Communion for being polluted thereby. I confeſs it belongs to the Eſſence of a Church, that there be an open Profeſſion againſt all Sin and Wickedneſs, and that there be nothing impure in the Worſhip it ſelf, or elſe the Church muſt bear the Blame. But if Perſons that have made a ſound Profeſſion, do ſecretly act contrary to their Rule, *Eceleſia non judicat de occultis*, the Church is not to blame for not having the Gift of Diſcerning Spirits; and though perhaps many of their Offences are viſible enough to the Eye of the World, yet they are not ſo to the Church; ſo that they may be permitted till they are convicted thereof by legal Proof; and I wiſh

wiſh thoſe men that make the Complaint would be ſo charitable, as to give the Church ſuch Proof and Information, as the Church may be able to remedy theſe Evils; but that they never do; and therefore the fault lies more upon them that know it, and do not endeavour to have it reformed, than it does upon the Church, who has not ſufficient evidence, ſo as to be able to proceed to puniſh the Offenders. If they ſhould indeed rightly inform the Governours, and then They ſhould neglect to redreſs it, the guilt would lye upon Them; but the Communion it ſelf will be innocent, which does condemn all ſuch Practices, both in the Governours, and in the People too. Other private Chriſtians that know nothing of it, or if they did, cannot amend it, will not at all be guilty in doing their Duty, though wicked men joyn in Communion with them; for they do not at all conſent to, or approve any of their Evil Deeds; their Hypocriſie and Double-dealing muſt lye wholly upon their own heads, as *Judas*'s did. Nay, the *Jewiſh* Church was corrupt, and yet our Saviour went commonly to the Temple; and after they had been ſo

Mat. 18. Tell it to the Church.

wicked as to crucifie the Lord of Life, yet the Apoſtles daily reſorted unto the Temple, and frequented the Publick Worſhip of God, where ſuch bloody men were aſſembled together. And for a general Rule our Saviour layes it down, *The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes ſeat; all therefore that they command you, obſerve and do; but do not ye after their Works; for they ſay, and do not.* When the Church of *England* does command you any thing wicked and unlawful, than refuſe to obey her, but if ſhe ſays and teaches nothing but that which is good, though many in her Communion do the contrary, That will not be imputed to your account, no more than the wicked Lives of the Phariſees were objected to the Jews that followed their godly Precepts. But then, as for the Objection about Want of Diſcipline, I never was, nor never will be an Advocate for Profaneneſs or ill Life; if there be ſo much Fault in this kind as you complain of, I am heartily ſorry, and 'tis the very Grief of my Soul that ſuch things ſhould be objected to ſo holy a Church as ours is; but yet I hope (neither) things are not altogether ſo bad as the Outcry makes them; that here

Mat. 23. 2, 3.

is

is abundance of Villany and Profaneneſs acted by many who will ſhelter themſelves under the Wings of the Church of *England*, I do not at all queſtion; neither ever was there a Church or ever will be upon Earth, that will be free from ſuch impious Offenders. But I believe likewiſe it cannot be made appear by evident Proof, ſo as a Judge can take hold of it, that there are many of theſe open Crimes paſs unpuniſhed; for as they are Deeds of Darkneſs, ſo they are commonly acted in Secret, and though they may be known by general Fame or Rumour, yet there are not Witneſſes to make Proof thereof before a Court that has Power to cenſure them; and the Apoſtles Rule is, we muſt not receive an Accuſation, but under two or three Witneſſes. But ſuppoſe the worſt you can imagine. Who are the Cauſes of all theſe Miſchiefs? Who may we thank for all theſe Debaucheries and Impieties? Who was it that cauſed that King to be murdered that ſet his Heart and all his Power to eſtabliſh Piety and Diſcipline in the Church? Who was it cut off that Arch-Biſhops Head, that did ſpend and was ſpent, and at length

laid down his Life for the Maintenance of Religion, and the Suppreſſion of all Hereſie and Profaneneſs? Who was it that engaged the whole Nation in Blood and Confuſion for twenty years, and ſo brought in Atheiſm and all Licentiouſneſs amongſt us? Who was it weakened the Churches Power, and firſt took away thoſe Laws that were the Curbs to reſtrain ſuch Enormities? Who was it that defamed the Governours of the Church, and took away all Reverence and Authority from their Perſons amongſt the Vulgar? Nay, who is it that ſtill keep up Schiſms and Factions, and draw People from Obedience, provide Sanctuaries and hiding Places for all irregular and lawleſs Perſons; but you who ſeduce ſuch numbers from their Duty unto your Seditious Conventicles? Who is it that taught them to deſpiſe Excommunication, and contemn the Authority of the Church? So that when you have robb'd us of all Authority, of Reverence, of Power, and taught the People to vilifie all our Diſcipline, then you deride us, and uſe the Want thereof as an Argument to deſert our Communion.

And

And now, after all the Miſchiefs and Confuſion that your Schiſm and Rebellion brought upon us, conſider whether all thoſe pious Ends that you pretended to, might not have better been brought about under the Churches Government, than by your Schiſmatical Reformation; do but impartially examine your own Hearts, whether you might not have expreſſed the ſame Zeal for God, Charity to your Neighbours, with better Hopes and Succeſs? might not you have been as pathetical in your Sermons and Exhortations, as exemplary in your Lives, and as fervent at your Devotion without all that Buſtle and Sedition that you have made? Where can you ſhew the leaſt Hinderance and Impediment of true Godlineſs, but what you made your ſelves? If you would but lay aſide Prejudice and Intereſt, you muſt needs acknowledge, that if you had ſpent your Pains to aſſiſt the Biſhops to teach People Obedience, and to help your Governours to ſuppreſs Debauchery and Profaneneſs in an orderly way, all thoſe Evils had been prevented, and Religion would have flouriſhed in perfect Beauty; and would you but even now heartily concur to

promote the obſervance of the Churches Rules, laying aſide all By-deſigns, I ſhould not doubt, even yet, to ſee a happy reſtauration of Piety and Order amongſt us. But if you ſhall ſtill continue in the ſame froward and Schiſmatical Diviſion, and do not Unite heartily with the Church of *England*, upon the firm and ſolid Principles of the Goſpel, as they have been ever received in the Catholick Church, you will ſtrengthen the hand of our Enemies of the Church of *Rome*, and ſome time or other endanger the whole Reformation it ſelf. It is a vain thing to hope, by the thin Arts of Canting amongſt the People, to ſatisfie the Sober and Rational part of Mankind; any bungler may ſerve well enough to ſpoil a goodly Structure, but it muſt be a good Artiſt indeed, and muſt lay a firm Foundation too, that will erect an orderly and laſting Fabrick: you may perhaps amuſe and unſettle men, but you can never ſettle their minds, and fix them in the truth. It was your intemperate Heats and Extravagancies at the beginning, and all along, hindered the progreſs of the Reformation, and you will one day be the Ruine of it, I fear,

fear, (I think I might say more) if God does permit you to continue in this unreasonable Schism, and Disobedience to the Church.

CHAP. VIII.

Considerations to Preachers in Conventicles.

HAving spoken to the Presbyterians in General, and answered most, if not all their Reasons, upon which they justifie their Separation, I come now in short to speak to the Preachers that hold up these Schismatical Assemblies, and lead the People into Disobedience and Separation. And I first beseech you to lay aside the little Arts by Art you impose upon the Vulgar, and deal like men and Scholars, and then consider whether this Practice of yours be not contrary to the Word of God, which does forbid you to go into another mans Line, contrary to the Canons and Decrees of

2 *Cor.* 14. 15.

of all Chriſtian Churches, ancient and modern, contrary to your own publick Reaſons and Demonſtrations, and the ready way to deſtroy all Eccleſiaſtical Government and Authority, and to bring all Miſchief and Confuſion into the Churches, and does give Occaſion and Warrant for Socinians, Anabaptiſts, Quakers and Papiſts to do the ſame. You were heretofore for the Authority of Synods, for an Orderly Vocation of Miniſters, for the Power of Suſpenſion, and Depoſition of thoſe that would not conform to publick Conſtitutions. How is it then that you take upon you thus to preach and ſeduce People from their lawful Teachers, who have the Care and Charge of their Souls; but by your Means are drawn away from their Inſtructions? All Orders of men elſe have Authority for that they do, and do not run before they are ſent by others, and then keep within their Bounds. One Biſhop does not invade another Biſhops Dioceſe, nor one Prieſt another Prieſts Flock. The Judges keep their own Courts and Circuits, and Juſtices act only within their own Limits and Counties; but you, like the Pope, thruſt your ſelves in every where, and

rob

rob and plunder from every body, without any Authority or Commiſſion. So that I can reſemble you to nothing more, than to Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts; I am ſure you act according to their Principles.

Now ſince the Apoſtle does ſay there are Deceivers, whoſe Mouths muſt be ſtopped; I will not ſuppoſe you ſo weak, as to conclude, the Apoſtle onely means here a Natural Violence: but firſt they ought to be refuted by ſound Reaſon; Secondly, they ought to be ſilenced by Publick Authority; and if ever any could have their Mouthes ſtopped that way, what I have ſaid is enough to ſhew that you are, according to the Apoſtles Order, forbidden to preach by both theſe wayes. But if you ſtill think there lyes an obligation upon you to preach the Goſpel, why do you not go amongſt the *Indians*, where there are no Teachers at all, and endeavour to bring over the *Pagans* to the *Chriſtian* Church? Therein you would ſhew true Religious Zeal, and your Labours would be acceptable to God; but to invade other mens Flocks, and to make a Schiſm and Confuſion in a ſettled Church, by erecting Altar againſt Altar; *Tit.* 1.10, 11.

to

to ſtir up Factions and Contention as you have done, is the ready way to Atheiſm, and to make the looſer ſort believe, there is no ſuch thing as Religion in the World. And how can it be otherwiſe expected, when they ſee men, that pretend to ſo much Gravity and Conſcience, act quite contrary to their own rules and Profeſſions, act contrary to the Senſe of the whole Church, and contrary to the Rules of all Order and Government?

But further, if through Prejudice and for Want of right Underſtanding of the State of things, you could not ſubſcribe to all things required of Clergymen; yet what hinders, but that you may communicate as private Chriſtians? and then you will not be obliged to aſſent to any Doubtful Matters, but only to obſerve thoſe common Principles which all Chriſtians are bound to profeſs, and ſince your Governours have not called you to any further Employment, nay have forbid you to exerciſe any ſuch Office, ſuch a Lay-Communion will abundantly diſcharge your Duty. And if any are not ſatisfied therewith, they muſt go to ſome Country where they will not invade anothers Charge.

But

But there are two Allegations which I know you will be ready to make for your own Defence.

1. That you do no more in *England*, than what the reformed Chriſtians do in *France*, who do with the Approbation and good Liking of all ſober men, hold Aſſemblies contrary to the Mind and Command of their Biſhops.

2. That you do but what the Church of *England* did in the late Rebellion.

Anſ. But I altogether deny, that your Caſe is the ſame, or any way like to theirs in *France*; for they cannot joyn in Communion with their Biſhops, becauſe the Matter of their Worſhip is not ſound, and according to the Word of God; but if they had a publick Service Orthodox and Pious, as ours is, they would fall into the ſame Condemnation with you, if they ſhould refuſe to joyn in it, and offer to hold ſeparate Congregations; But when they cannot joyn with the Publick by Reaſon of the Unlawfulneſs of their Worſhip, they may by the Permiſſion of the Civil Power lawfully ſerve God as he has commanded.

Neither, ſecondly, will the Practice of the Devout Sons of the Church of *England*, in the Times of

of the late Rebellion, who did ſerve God according to the common Prayer, contrary to the Command of the Powers that then ruled, any way juſtifie your Actions; for, what they did was no more than what they were bound to do, by Virtue of the Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, which were never abrogated; and the Commands that were given to the contrary, were of no Force, but only the Acts of Rebels and Schiſmaticks. But the Communion which you ſeparate from, is Holy, Pious, and Good, and the Authority which you deſpiſe, is as lawful and unqueſtionable as ever any has been ſince the Apoſtles time; nay you do carry away the People not only from thoſe they ought to own for their Teachers, but alſo from men that give them better and more wholſom Inſtruction than you do; and I heartily wiſh you would conſider ſeriouſly what Miſchief you have done to this Church and Nation. Before you began to ſeduce the People to your Schiſmatical Congregations, and taught them to ſlight the publick Conſtitutions of the Church, they did live in all orderly Obedience and Subjection to their

their Governours, brought their Children to be baptized into the Chriſtian Faith, afterwards educated them in the Profeſſion and Practice thereof, and did teach them meekly to receive inſtruction from their Miniſters, who did inform them in all parts of a Chriſtians Duty; and, from this good foundation grown perſons did joyn in the publick Service, and offer up their Prayers and Praiſes to Almighty God, according to his Holy Will, and the Practice of the Catholick Church. They did likewiſe frequently partake of the Holy Sacrament, and live in all Brotherly Friendſhip one with another, and Unity with all good Chriſtians; and if at any time there were any negligent, looſe, or irregular Perſons, there were Officers whoſe Duty it was to aſſiſt the Miniſter to admoniſh them, and in caſe of their continuance in ſuch Diſorders, to detect and preſent them, ſo as they might be puniſhed and reformed, at leaſt, ſo far as it was in mans power to do it; and they had then ſuch a Reverence and Eſteem of the Churches Cenſures, that, if not out of Conſcience, yet for Fear of Excommunication, they would outwardly appear Religious, or elſe patiently

tiently ſubmit to the Puniſhment and Direction of their Governours; and by theſe means there was a great Check given to all erroneous Doctrines and open Profaneneſs, and the greateſt part of the Nation were made to underſtand their Religion, and at leaſt to know their Duty; and we were, without doubt, not onely the beſt, but the happieſt Church in the World. And though perhaps there might be ſome perſonal Defects, yet the Rules and Laws that were in force to prevent them, were ſo prudent and Exact, that no one can ſcarce imagine where any thing could be ſupplied or amended. However, it was the conſtant Profeſſion and Practice of moſt Sober People in the Nation, to worſhip the onely true God by his Son Jeſus Chriſt, through the Grace and Aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, which our Saviour Chriſt did ſend down upon his Church, to abide with her for ever; and the onely thing that was intended and aimed at in the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Church of *England*, was, to keep all men in the Belief and Practice of thoſe Holy Doctrines and Precepts which are left us in the Goſpel.

But

But aſſoon as you went about to draw the People from the Church, and taught them to neglect her Commands, deſpiſe her Authority, and follow your Fancies and Devices; they began to be pleaſed with the Liberty they had got, and ſo became their own Guides and Teachers, and did and do as much deſpiſe you and your Ways, as you had taught them to deſpiſe the Church before; hence ſprung thoſe Multitudes of Sects and Hereſies that now are ſo rife amongſt us, and that Ignorance and Infidelity that has ſo much overſpread the Nation. Conſider farther, amongſt thoſe that do ſtill pretend to be your Diſciples, how few are there that behave themſelves after that Holy and Humble manner, as becomes Chriſtians? Though they may avoid the common and open Vices perhaps, yet do you not find them peeviſh, headſtrong, and ungovernable? Can you undertake to keep them within the Bounds of Sobriety and Moderation? or do they not follow their own Wills, Humours and Devices, notwithſtanding all your Endeavour and Commands to the Contrary? If theſe be ſad Truths, then look about you, and beware whom you

ſerve, and what Intereſt will be carried on, if you continue ſtill to keep up the Diviſion. In Gods name therefore, after the Experience of ſo much Miſchief do not think that 'tis Ceremonies and Habits, that men are ſo much offended at, that forſake the Church; theſe are but Fig Leaves to cover over other Deſigns; 'tis the Churches Lands and Revenues, Freedom from Government and Countroul, and Liberty to enjoy their Luſts and Pleaſures, to live and do as they liſt, that they aim at; and becauſe the Churches Authority and Diſcipline will curb and reſtrain their Licentiouſneſs, that is the true Reaſon why they forſake her, and are ready to joyn with a Faction, to weaken, if not wholly to deſtroy her Power: And if theſe be not your Intentions, yet what you do is plainly ſubſervient to ſuch Ends. Therefore if you love God and his Honour, deſire the Salvation of the Souls of theſe poor People, and the Peace of your Country, forſake your Schiſmatical Courſes, and though you cannot conform as Miniſters, yet conform as private Chriſtians, and go about amongſt all your diſſenting Friends and Acquaintance, and perſwade them

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to ſubmit to the Church of *England*, and ſo ſtrengthen her Power and Intereſt, that ſhe may be able to reduce thoſe that are miſled, inſtruct thoſe that are ignorant, and puniſh thoſe that are ſtubborn and prophane, and thereby you will do more good than by Preaching in Conventicles; and you will be a Means to keep up the Subſtance of Religion, which you confeſs is in our Church, and which hitherto you have been Inſtruments in a good Meaſure to deſtroy.

CONSIDERATIONS

To those of the

Church of *ROME.*

CHAP. I.

Considerations offered to those of the Church of Rome, *who perhaps mean well, but are deceived into Complyance with that Schismatical Church.*

I Hope when the moderate men of the *Romish* Communion do consider how impartially the Love of Truth and Catholick Unity has made me speak to those of my own Church, and all others that dissent from the Churches Tradition; they will without any Prejudice read what I offer to their Consideration. And that I may again repeat what I have said, 'tis the true Zeal I have for Communion with the Catholick Church, and Obedience

to

to her Authority, that makes me thus addreſs my ſelf to thoſe of the *Roman* Church at this time, who do moſt depart from it, and are the greateſt Enemies of the Churches Peace and Unity. This perhaps they will think a great Paradox, but it will appear to be true upon diligent enquiry. Now it falls out in this Caſe as it does in moſt others, People judge more by Intereſt and Affection, than they do by Truth and Reality: Hence it comes to paſs, that Friends magnifie all the good and commendable Parts, and overlook or excuſe all the Defects and Errours; Enemies, on the quite contrary, overlook and do not regard all Virtues and things praiſeworthy, and altogether magnifie Vices and Miſtakes; ſo that neither Side ſee Truth in its proper Luſtre and Perfection; many I confeſs, led by this Humour, never think they ſhew Zeal enough againſt the Errours of the Church of *Rome*, unleſs they condemn all of that Communion, and involve each Perſon and ſingle Opinion that is maintained in that Church, in the ſame Guilt

and Malignity. And if they take the Church of *Rome* for one intire Body that joyn with the Pope, and ſeparate themſelves from, or elſe reject all others that do not yield Obedience to him, and own him and his Councils as their Guide in Religion, then I think they are to be conſidered alltogether, and in this they will all readily agree, which Conſent will involve the beſt of them in a great Schiſm, and make them in ſome Meaſure guilty of the Churches Diviſions. Therefore it will concern every particular Perſon in that Communion, to look about him, eſpecially thoſe that are converſant in ſuch Countries and amongſt other Churches, where they may learn and be rightly informed of the Truth of things, and not by a blind Obedience reſolve to ſwallow down whatſoever the *Roman* Prieſts will impoſe upon their Belief. And this I know to be the Condition and State of that Communion; though they all in ſome Meaſure own the Pope to be their Head, yet there are many Differences and Diſputes amongſt themſelves, neither do all profeſs to follow the Popes Decrees in every Point; and many others do not perfectly underſtand the

the politick Myſteries and wicked Devices that are carried on by the great Factors and buſie Zealots of the *Roman* Court; whereby they only diſcern the fair laudable part of their Church, and know little of the Depth of Iniquity that lyes at the Bottom of that Schiſmatical Church. So that we may eaſily imagine there may be many innocent and pious men in that Communion, though groſsly involved in Blindneſs and Superſtition, which keep the being a Life of that Church; and 'tis great Pity but that theſe ſhould be better informed and undeceived; and that is one end of this Diſcourſe: and there are others of that Communion who have perhaps the greateſt Power in the Government, that are neither true Members of the Catholick Church, nor yet of the *Roman* Church, though they ſit and domineer under that Title; for Hereticks, Murderers, Apoſtates, Necromancers, Simoniacks (as ſome Popes have been) are no part of Chriſts Body, and ſo no Members of the Church; and if their Crimes be open and notorious, and defended by them, all ought to withdraw from their Communion, and no longer own them for their

Pastors. But it many times happens, that these Abominations are not made so manifest that common Capacities can understand them, and therefore it must be the Endeavour of all moderate and sober men to sever the pretious from the Vile, to distinguish between the Good and the Bad, the Opinions of the Church, and the Abominations of the Court of *Rome* and all its Flatterers. Whether this Distinction be still owned I will not say, but it does appear that the most eminent Divines and men of greatest Learning and Judgment in their Church, have stoutly opposed the Popes Infallibility, his Authority above General Councils, his Power of Deposing Kings and Princes, and have denyed these modern Occidental Councils to be General; have grievously complained of the Popes Exemptions of Regulars from the Obedience of their Bishops, of those enormous Dispensations that are granted for covetous ends, of the Abuse of Confession, of the Wickedness of their Doctrine, about the Sufficiency of Attrition; and in summe they have professed, that none of the Definitions of the Church, ought to be believed by them, but what are de-

determined by a Pope and a General Council, and not all that is there defined neither, but what is determined to be *de Fide*; for they allow that Councils may erre in private Declarations, in Laws and Canons, but not in things of eſſential Faith, neceſſary to Salvation. Now ſince Proteſtants have all along allowed Salvation to ſome of the *Roman* Church, it muſt chiefly be underſtood of men of this Temper and Belief, and then who would not think it great Service to the Church of God, to perſwade theſe to joyn with us in proteſting againſt the other Errours and Corruptions of the furious Part of that Communion, which fill the World with Murders and Confuſions; and that which gives us the more Hopes of Succeſs, is this, that when we diſcourſe with them, they do generally diſown and renounce ſuch Opinions, and profeſs they are no part of their Belief and Practice. And if they ſincerely ſpeak their Minds, it is not impoſſible, when they ſee the true State of Matters before them, they may think themſelves bound as much to oppoſe the Court of *Rome*, in other Matters too, as we have done, and ſo leave them naked, without that pompous Shew of religious

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Perſons to give Countenance to their Villanies.

But if any are ſo furious on the other ſide, as to condemn them all in one Lump, and reſolved to make every Perſon guilty of all that is held by the Court of *Rome*, then there will be nothing but Fire and Sword to be uſed againſt them; all Reaſons and Arguments will be but as Stones thrown againſt the Wind, and Murder and Bloodſhed muſt be all that we can ever expect or hope for. But whether it be the Intereſt of Proteſtants to put all wholly upon that Iſſue, or it be pleaſing to God, that men ſhould think of nothing but War and Death againſt their Adverſaries, and ſo wholly renounce all Diſcourſe with them, this is a Point I am not ſatisfied in, though I confeſs 'tis very fit always to be in a watchful Poſture to guard our ſelves againſt the Malice of the *Roman* Court; and one great Means to do it, and perhaps to ſecure our ſelves too, would be to undeceive theſe moderate men; which muſt not be by Rigour only, though ſome Puniſhments (no doubt) are neceſſary amongſt the common ſort; to make them at leaſt conſider, which St. *Auguſtine*

ſtine does acknowledge had good Effect upon ſome who thank'd him for the Diſcipline he exerciſed upon them. But that was not all, there was ſober Debate went along with it, and that muſt be uſed in this Caſe alſo; and that is all 'tis fit for one in my Capacity to offer. Therefore I will at leaſt ſuppoſe: ſince there are many that profeſs ſo much, that there may be ſome ſtill of the like Temper with *Gerſon Cardinalis Camaræcenſis*, *Alivani*, *Cuſanus*, *Panormitane*, *Cardinalis Florentinus Abulenſis*, Father *Paul*, Father *Fulgentio*, *Lanoy* &c.

CHAP. II.

How far Chriſtian Churches agree.

FOR our better Encouragement to hope, that our Labours will not be altogether loſt, it is to be conſidered, that beſides the general Rule of Scripture, which is acknowledged on both ſides, there is another common Principle

ple which the Church of *England* and Church of *Rome* do agree in as their Guide in the present Differences. So that the Issue will be only to draw true Conclusions from those Premises which both sides admit. First for the Church of *England*, this is her Direction to her Preachers: *Imprimis verò videbunt nequid unquam doceant pro concione, quod à populo religiosè teneri & credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit Doctrinæ veteris & novi testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa Doctrina Catholici Patres & veteres Episcopi collegerint.* "First of all let the Preachers take Heed "that they do not teach any thing in "their Sermons, which they would have "religiously held and believed by the "People, but what is agreeable to the "Doctrine of the Old and New Testa-"ment, and what the Catholick Fathers "& ancient Bishops, have gathered from "that Doctrine. And our Divines have made it their Business ever since the Reformation, to maintain, that we have followed this Rule, and have kept to the Doctrine of the ancient Fathers and Councils.

Synod. Lond. An. 1571.

The Church of *Rome* likewise in the Council of *Trent* lays down much the same Rule. *Ad coercenda petulantia ingenia*

Concil. Trid. Sess. 4.

nia decernit, ut nemo, ſuæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei, & morum ad ædificationem Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ pertinentium ſacram Scripturam ad ſuos Senſus contorquens, contra eum ſenſum quem tenuit, & tenet ſancta mater Eccleſia, cujus eſt judicare de vero ſenſu & interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimum conſenſum Patrum ipſam Scripturam interpretari audeat. "For the reſtraining of petulant Wits, the Synod doth decree, that no Body, confiding in his own Prudence, in matters of Faith, and Manners belonging to the Edification of Chriſtian Doctrine, ſhould wreſt the holy Scripture to his own Senſe, contrary to that Senſe which the holy Mother the Church hath or doth hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true Senſe and Interpretation of the holy Scripture, and alſo that no Body dare to interpret the Scripture contrary to the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers. And here the only Craft and Couſenage is, that they mean by *tenet mater Eccleſia*, Themſelves. And now I am upon ſhewing how far the ſeveral Churches agree in the ſame Rule, let me ſet down the Senſe of the *Greek* and reformed Churches in this matter; and firſt in the Profeſſion of Faith

Faith made in the Eastern Church, we have just the same Declaration; where, after the Profession of the Nicene Creed, 'tis added, πρὸς τούτοις ἀποδέχομαι πάσας ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς ἁπάσας * συνόδους, ἅτινες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν εἰρημένων δογμάτων, συνηθροίσθησαν, καὶ ὁμολογῶν τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν διωρισμένας τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν κανόνας καὶ πάσας ἁγίας διατάξεις ὅσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν πατράσι κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους ἐτυπώθησαν, πάντας ὃς ἀποδέχονται συναποδεχόμενος, καὶ οὓς ἀποτρέφονται συναποτρεφόμενος.

* Note that though the Greek ch. now owns the second of *Nice* for a General Council, it was not received as such by them, for many years after it was first held; and it was condemned by a greater Synod at *Francfort* in the West, and so not known in the *Roman* Church for many hundred years after, as *Bellar.* does confess. *De Rel. Sanct. c.* 22. *diu latuerunt & nostro primùm tempore edita sunt.*

'Moreover I receive the seven holy and œ-'cumenical Synods, which were gathered 'together for the Preserving of the Re-'verend Dogms; professing to embrace 'and keep the Canons determined by 'them, and the holy Constitutions which 'were ordained by the holy Fathers of 'different times and Seasons, receiving 'all that they receive, and rejecting all 'that they reject.

The *Augustine* Confession, which is the most venerable, and of the largest Extent amongst the reformed Churches, makes much the same Declaration. *Hæc summa*

Confess. Aug. c. 21.

ſumma eſt Doctrinæ quæ in Eccleſiis noſtris traditur, & conſentaneam eſſe judicamus & Propheticæ, & Apoſtolicæ Scripturæ, & Catholicæ Eccleſiæ, poſtremò etiam Romanæ Eccleſiæ, quatenus ex probatis Scriptoribus nota eſt; atque idem judicaturos eſſe ſperamus omnes bonos & doctos viros, non enim aſpernamur conſenſum Catholicæ eccleſiæ, nec eſt animus nobis ullum novum dogma & ignotum Sanctæ Eccleſiæ invehere in Eccleſiam, nec patrocinari impiis aut ſeditioſis opinionibus volumus, quas Catholica Eccleſia damnavit; non enim adducti prava cupiditate, ſed coacti Authoritate verbi Dei, & veteris Eccleſiæ, amplexi ſumus hanc Doctrinam. This is the ſum 'of the Doctrine which is delivered in 'our Churches, and we judge it to be 'agreeable to the Writings of the Pro-'phets and Apoſtles, and to the Catho-'lick Church; and laſtly to the Roman 'Church, as ſhe is known out of appro-'ved Writers; and we hope all good 'and learned men will judge the ſame. 'For we do not deſpiſe the Conſent of 'the Catholick Church, neither is it our 'Intention to bring into the Church any 'new Opinion and unknown to the ho-'ly Church. Neither will we patronize 'any wicked or ſeditious Opinions which the

'the Catholick Church has condemned. 'For we were not led to embrace this 'Doctrine by any evil Concupiscence, 'but compelled to it by the Authority of 'the Word of God, and of the ancient Church. Neither is the Agrement only in General, but if we descend down to Particulars, we shall find almost the same Concord in most things; and if men would hearken to Reason and Moderation, those Matters wherein they differ might easily be adjusted. But as things are at present, they do all own the same Creeds, the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandments; the Sacraments likewise are received by all, though with some Difference. Neither do I understand that there is any Doctrine that is determined in any of the six General Councils that is not owned by Protestants. And as for the Church of *England*, I can say she does own whatsoever is Catholick and Apostolical.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

'Tis unreaſonable to hear Papiſts only.

THE ſame common Rule being laid down, and the Conſent being undoubted in the greateſt Matters, how comes it to paſs, that this great Diviſion is cauſed in the Church? and this is a very material Queſtion; for one would wonder whence it ſhould come about, that That Religion that teaches men Meekneſs, Self-denyal, Humility, Gentleneſs, and does ſubdue all Pride, Vain-glory, and worldly Deſires; ſhould be made Uſe of to overthrow and deſtroy it ſelf: but ſo much the ſadder is the Caſe, becauſe it is an Evil brought in againſt the whole Courſe of Nature, and acted with ſo many Contradictions to kill mens Bodies to ſave their Souls, to act Rebellion when they would plant Obedience, to be guilty of Cruelty when they pretend Safety, and to boaſt of Antiquity while they introduce Novelty, inſtead of the Commands of Church, to impoſe their own Devices. So that wherever the Change has been, there the Guilt muſt lye;

those that keep to this Rule cannot be in Fault, but those that depart from it. And that is the true point in Difference between us and the Church of *Rome*; we charge them for having left their own Principle, and instead of the Doctrine of the ancient Fathers and Councils, enjoyning Papal Decrees and Superstitions. For it is not the Place, but the Faith that makes a Church: the Church of *Rome* indeed was in Being in the purer times, but not those Corruptions with which she has been deformed in these latter days; we did not make a new Church at the Reformation, but restore it to its former Purity; we cast off that which was new, that we might return to what was old; you therefore of the *Roman* Communion, will be greatly mistaken if you pin your Faith upon that Church, and think thereby you are secure of the ancient Religion. 'Tis but a vain Credulity in you, to harbour such a Belief; you see all others do as much lay hold of Antiquity as she does, and blame her for Change and Innovation; it will not be a sufficient Defence implicitely to rely on their bare Affirmations; 'tis evident, there are Schisms and Rents in the

the Church, and lamentable are the Miſchiefs thereof, and the Church of *Rome* is deeply charged for the Cauſe of all; therefore ſince God has given you Reaſon and Underſtanding, and does afford you Opportunities to examine and ſearch into the Truth, you may periſh if you do not hearken to Inſtruction. You are commanded indeed to obey the Church, but you are no where told, that the Church of *Rome* is that Church: you are taught to believe the Holy Catholick Church, but 'tis no part of your Creed to believe in the *Roman* Church. I do not perſwade you to follow a private Spirit, but endeavour to draw you off from a private Spirit; what a great Leap is that, preſently to make the *Roman* Church the Catholick Church? What a begged Principle is this, without any Ground or Foundation? No Wonder if men can ſwallow any Abſurdities, if they can be ſo ſilly to grant this without any Proof, that the Church of *Rome* is the Church Univerſal; and to be out of her Communion, is to be a Heretick. The Catholick Church is a ſure Guide, and the only way to Salvation; and the ſurer it is, the more careful we ought to

be that we do not ſuffer our ſelves to be deceived, and take that for the Catholick Church, which is not ſo. The Catholick Church ſhall never fail, but St. *Paul* warns the Church of *Rome* to take heed leaſt She alſo be cut off. This therefore will be a manifeſt Condemnation to all Papiſts amongſt us, at leaſt, that they do raſhly and without any Reaſon embrace this Principle, That the Pope and his Adherents muſt be the Catholick Church; when once you are ſure of your Guide, you may follow his Directions in other matters, but you muſt uſe your own Underſtanding to chooſe a ſafe Director, and not follow every one that will pretend to lead you. Whenever therefore you do examine well the Foundations you build upon, you will be miſerably deceived if you have made a wrong Choice, and followed a Schiſmatical Aſſembly, and thereby kept up a Schiſm, and oppoſed the Catholick Church, as moſt aſſuredly you have done.

Rom. 11. 21. 22.

But ſecondly, as you beg that the Church of *Rome* may be granted you to be the Catholick Church, without any Reaſon at all; ſo you do blindly give up

up your Faith to the Prieſts of that Church, and take all for Truth which they tell you, and all for Falſe which they ſhall deny. Now I confeſs, when the Enquiry is concerning the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* amongſt your own ſelves for private Direction and Satisfaction in your Duty, where there appears no probable Reaſon or Doubt to the contrary, there may be ſome Colour in ſuch Caſes, that you ſhould hearken to the Prieſts amongſt you that are of approved Integrity and Learning. But when the Diſpute is about the Soundneſs and Truth of your Church it ſelf (and that is denyed, or called in Queſtion) then to reſt only upon their Judgment, and not to endeavour to ſatisfie your ſelves by ſound Reaſon, beſides their Authority, is the greateſt and moſt unreaſonable Credulity in the World. When they are the Parties to be judged, you will make them the Judge of themſelves, which is the ready way to overthrow all Judgment and all Religion too; to be ſure 'tis the ready way to make every one reſt ſatisfied with that Religion wherein he was born, and *Jews*, *Ma-*

hometans and *Pagans* will be juſtified upon the ſame Principle; for if the *Jews* are reſolved to believe none but Jewiſh Prieſts, they will perſwade them to be *Jews* to the End of the World; and if *Mahometans* will give ear to no Body but their *Mufties*, they will be always Enemies to Chriſtianity; and 'tis juſt as good reaſon altogether as for a Papiſt to ſay, I will believe no Body but the Church of *Rome* and her Prieſts, to aſſure me theirs is the true and only Catholick Church.

But there is one Objection to be anſwered, by reaſon whereof they think it ſufficient to rely upon the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, without any farther Inquiry; which is this: That Proteſtants do generally acknowledge, Papiſts may be ſaved; but Papiſts doe as conſtantly deny that Proteſtants can be ſaved: from whence they conclude, by the Confeſſion of all ſides they are ſafe in the Church of *Rome*, and ſhould they go from her, in the Judgment of many they are wholly loſt; therefore they will ſeek no farther, and be freed both from Trouble and Danger.

Anſ. By this Inference they infinitely wrong themſelves, and abuſe the Charity

rity, and pervert the Meaning of their Adverſaries. For though it be confeſſed, that it is poſſible ſome Papiſts may be ſaved, which is all that is granted; yet it is not denied on the other hand, but that many may be, and are damned for being Papiſts, but they can never be damned for being of the Church of *England*; the meaning therefore of our Conceſſion is this, Whereas the great Crimes of the Church of *Rome* which they muſt inevitably fall into by joyning in that Communion, are Schiſm and Superſtition, it is not improbable, that many who live in Remote Countries, and yield Obedience to their Superiours, and have not Opportunity to inform themſelves of the true State of the Church, and where the Truth lies in every Point, but yet ſincerely ſerving God, and obeying thoſe Truths which they do know, may obtain Mercy. For, God who is not extreme to mark what is done amiſs, may overlook thoſe other Errours and Defects, and ſo graciouſly receive them into his Favour; but for others, who ſhut their Eyes againſt Knowledge, run away from their proper Teachers that they ought to hearken to, and ſo voluntarily refuſe Inſtructi-

on, and then for an Excuse to make Use of a Concession that is made upon other Circumstances, and not at all agreeing to their Case; this is such an Apology, as will rather aggravate, than lessen their Guilt.

Object. But others will say, they have been ready to receive Information; and to that End, have discoursed with several, but as yet they have not been able to receive Satisfaction.

Ans. It may happen, that they have now and then, upon Occasion, entred into such Debates; but it is not every slight incidental Inquiry will be sufficient: have they gone about it with the like Earnestness and Care as they have for their Temporal Advantages? As the thing it self, is of the greatest Moment, so our Search after it, must be with the greatest Care and Diligence, and Desire of the Truth; and this I doubt you cannot say you have done.

Besides, consider the Unreasonableness of that Religion, and the Distrust that they have of their own Cause, that they do bind all their Disciples with such Oaths and Promises never to hear any other speak, and never so much

much as to enter into any Debate or Enquiry concerning the Truth of their Religion, but give themselves up by a blind and implicite Belief, to take all for Truth, without any Reason, that they shall require of them; this is such a Spiriting men away, and is such Violence offered to mens Nature, that it must argue a great Tyranny, and Desponding of their Cause, that they tye men up to such barbarous Conditions.

These three things being laid down as undoubted, first that the Necessities of Christendom, and the great Mischiefs of Divisions, do oblige us to distinguish between the Deceivers and deceived; to make a Difference between those that disagree only in some private Opinions which relate to Religion, and those that aim at Dominion and Rule, and take upon them to subvert Governments, depose Princes, transferr Kingdoms, murder and destroy all those that are not of their own Perswasion.

2. That there is an Agreement already, that Scripture interpreted by the Catholick Church, and by the general Consent of the ancient Fathers, ought to be our Guide and the Standard of our Religion. That

See King *Charles* I. disputes with Mr. *Henderson*.

3. That 'tis unreasonable that Papists should suffer themselves so to be abused and deluded, as to take it for granted without further Inquiry, that theirs is the only Catholick Church, and thereupon to bind themselves, never to enter seriously into Debate concerning Religion; but merely because they of the *Roman* Church say so, therefore all others must be concluded to be Heretics, and to have departed from that Rule which they profess, and the Church of *Rome* believed to be the only Catholick Church.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Popes Supremacy.

THESE things being laid down in the Beginning, let us return to the Common Rule wherein we all agree: That 'Scripture interpreted by the Church, 'and unanimous Consent of Fathers, is 'that which we ought to stand by in the 'present Disputes. And according to this Principle, I will first desire them to consider the Popes Supremacy, which is the great

great means to bring in all the reſt. Now this is a Fundamental Principle amongſt them, That out of his Obedience and Communion, there is no Salvation; but I demand by what Authority they can juſtifie that Opinion; do all Chriſtian Churches profeſs the ſame, or was there any Age when ſuch a thing was univerſally granted? That, they know, they cannot ſay; the matter of Fact is quite otherwiſe. For, divide the Chriſtian World into five Parts, four of them do not now, nor never did, in any Age own the Pope to have any Juriſdiction over them; and in that fifth part where his Power is admitted, 'tis with ſuch Diſtinctions and Debate amongſt themſelves, that 'tis manifeſt 'tis rather a Point of Policy, than any real Senſe of Duty that makes them receive it; and how can ſuch State-Devices prove any Juriſdiction to belong of Divine Right, as is pretended? And that the Popes Authority was only precarious, and not acknowledged as a matter of Right, ſee Biſhop *Bramhals* juſt Vindication of the Church of *England*; ſee likewiſe Sir *Roger Twiſden*, Dr. *Hammond*, and the ſeveral Authors who have writ of the *Gallicane* Liberties, and many

many others. It is ſo far then from being owned as a Tradition derived from Chriſt, or generally received in the World, that it is ſcarce any where freely admitted, and in four parts of five of the Church, at all times, and even at this day, it is moſt ſtrongly oppoſed, and counted Schiſmatical.

But perhaps ſome will ſay, We find that, *de facto*, the Pope's Authority has been owned in theſe parts of the World, and there are many Evidences of his Power and Juriſdiction amongſt us; and that being once ſettled, why ſhould it be caſt off again? May he not plead a Preſcription, and right of Poſſeſſion, as well as other Lords? But it is an old Saying, *à facto ad jus non valet conſequentia; & quod initio fit vitioſum, tractu temporis non convaleſcit.* Many wayes Poſſeſſion is got unjuſtly, and 'tis an Uſurpation upon anothers Right, and therefore the Injury continues till Reſtitution be made; and what Arts and Frauds were uſed to introduce this Power, is too long now to ſet down; moſt commonly advantage was taken againſt a weak Prince, or in times of great Diſtreſs and Difficulty. Sometimes Princes

ces had private Ends to ſerve, as *Philip* the ſecond, to get a Diſpenſation to marry his Neece, forces the Pope's Inquiſition upon the *Netherlands*: ſo that moſt of this Authority that was not forced, was but by the Permiſſion and Leave of thoſe other Governours, who might aſſert their own Freedom when they pleaſed, ſo long as there lay no Obligation from the Law of God, or of the Church, to ſubmit to ſuch Foreign Juriſdiction: and any one that ſhall read the Tranſactions of the Council of *Trent*, where the Biſhops were ſo garbled, and tied up by the Pope, will eaſily underſtand, this Power of the Pope is meerly a Conſtraint put upon the Weſtern Church, contrary to the Senſe of the Paſtors thereof. The Pope's Title being thus defective, as to matter of Fact, come we to matter of Right. Now that, where it is undoubted, is wont to be guarded with Laws and Decrees; and things are made ſo plain, that no one can make any Scruple about it, eſpecially when it concerns their obedience. How do all Kingdomes guard the Right

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of their Kings? Secure the Succeſſion of the Crown, and make clear Laws and Statutes to confirm the Princes Authority? And ſhould we not expect the ſame for the Pope, when there are thirty ſeven great Volumes made up of the Churches and Councils, and Canons? ſurely moſt of theſe muſt concern the Authority of the Pope, who is the Head of the Church, and who is to give Life and Being to them all, if that be his real Prerogative. For there we find Rules and Directions for the Government of the Church, and every Order of men is conſidered in their Place; there are ſeveral Canons about *Catechumens*, and Baptzeing of Children, of Diſpoſing of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, Reſtoring of Penitents; about Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops, about Provincial Synods, about the Order of Appeals, but not one word for the Pope, nor no mention made any where of Chriſts Vicar upon Earth, when His Authority (if he had had any) ſhould have been taken Care of in the firſt place, as being of moſt Concern to ſecure all the reſt. But inſtead of that, there are not the leaſt Footſteps to Countenance this pretended Authority, but the whole Tenure of

of the ancient Canons, and the main Drift of the Councils run quite another way, and reſtrain all matters to the Deciſions of each Provincial Synod. I will ſet down ſome of the Canons of the four firſt General Councils, concerning this Matter; and firſt the Council of *Nice*, in the fourth Canon, decrees, *That a Biſhop ought to be conſtituted by all the* Biſhops *of the Province; but if that be hard to be done, upon account of ſome urgent Neceſſity, or by reaſon of the Length of the Way, let the Ordination be made by three of them gathered together, the reſt giving their Suffrage, and declaring their Aſſent in writing. But the Confirmation of all things muſt be by the* Metropolitan, *i. e. Archbiſhop of the Province.* Why did not the Council put in the Approbation or Confirmation of the Pope too, but that he had nothing to do in it, but as a *Metropolitan* in his own Province? And *Can. 6. Let the ancient Cuſtoms be preſerved, that the* Biſhop *of* Alexandria *ſhould have Authority over all things in* Ægypt, Lybia, *and* Pentapolis, *becauſe this is a Cuſtom for the* Biſhop *to have at* Rome. *In like manner at* Antioch, *and in all other Provinces, let the Privileges of the Churches be preſerved. For this is altogether mani-*

Can. Apoſt. 35. 73. *Concil. Nic. c.* 4. *& c.* 5, *&* 6. *Con. Conſtant. c.* 2. *&* 2. *c.* 3. *Con.* 3. *gen. c.* 8. 4 *Con. Gen. Chal. c.* 9. *Concil. Ant. c.* 14.

manifeſt, that if any be made a Biſhop without the Conſent of the Metropolitane; *the great Synod does decree, ſuch a one ought not to be a* Biſhop; *but if two or three, out of private Contention, do contradict the common Suffrage of all the reſt, which is reaſonable and according to Canon, let the Suffrage of the major part prevail;* Here is no going to *Rome* for a Deciſion, nor yet for a Bull or Pall.

The ſecond General Council, held at *Conſtantinople*, *Can* 2. ſays, *Biſhops ought not to go out of their own Dioceſe, either for Ordination or any other Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration, unleſs they are invited,* [that is, by thoſe Biſhops to whoſe Dioceſe, they go] *for it is manifeſt, that the Synod of each Province ought to Order all things in every Province according as it is defined in the Council of* Nice. The Pope then muſt not interpoſe.

In the third General Council, held at *Epheſus*, *Can.* 8. there is Mention of a Complaint made by the *Cyprians* againſt the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who did pretend to ordain within their Province, which was out of his Juriſdiction, Therefore the Council decrees : *Let this be obſerved in all Dioceſes* [not only deciding the caſe of the *Cyprians*] *and Provin-*

Provinces every where, that none of the beloved Biſhops ſhould invade another Province, which was not of old, and from the Beginning in the hands of his Predeceſſors. That the Canons of the Fathers be not tranſgreſſed, it ſeemed good to the holy and œcumenical Synod that the Privileges of each Province be preſerved pure and inviolable.

The Fourth General Council held at *Chalcedon*, confirms all theſe Canons; and though it does make ſome new Laws concerning *Metropolitanes*, yet for the Matters of the Church in all other things, it leaves them to the Provincial Synods, and therefore confirms ſeveral other particular Councils, wherein the Authority of Provincial Synods is aſſerted, and amongſt others, the Council of *Antioch*, where are ſeveral Canons to the ſame Purpoſe; which do moreover allow the Biſhops to call in neighbouring Biſhops, as Aſſeſſors, to compoſe Differences when they cannot agree amongſt themſelves, but mentions not one Word of the Pope, or any of his Legats. Moreover this Council, *Can* 28. does give a Reaſon why the Fathers gave a Precedence to the Biſhop of *Rome*, namely, becauſe it

was the Royal City, not becauſe it was the Seat of St. *Peter*, or becauſe he was Chriſts Vicar upon Earth, and *Peter's* Succeſſor; and then, as the holy Father at the ſecond General Council at *Conſtantinople* did give Precedence to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* next after the Biſhop of *Rome*, Διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν νέαν Ῥώμην, *Becauſe it was New* Rome. *Can.* 3. *So this Council of* Chalcedon *ſays, we every where following the Definitions of the Holy Fathers, and acknowledging the Canon of the hundred and fifty Biſhops beloved of God, that was now read, we alſo define and decree the ſame things concerning the Privileges of the holy Church of* Conſtantinople, New Rome. *For the Fathers very agreeably did give Privileges to the Throne of old* Rome, *becauſe it was the Imperial City, the hundred and fifty Biſhops beloved of God, being moved by the ſame Reaſon, did give equal Privileges to the holy Throne of new* Rome, *judging it reaſonable, that a City that was honoured with the Empire, and Senate, and does enjoy equal Privileges with ancient* Rome, *the Royal City, ſhould be magnified in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as ſhe is, being the ſecond after her.* [*Irenæus* had ſaid before, the Honour of *Rome*, was

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propter potentiorem Principalitatem] This Canon was conteſted by the Legats of the Pope at the Council, who did pretend it was fraudulently impoſed upon the Council, whereupon the Debate about it was reſumed again in the ſixteenth Action, and the Canon being read, it was again approved and confirmed by the Council, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by the Legats. And though the Pope himſelf afterwards did endeavour all he could to make void this Canon, yet he did not prevail.

The Fifth General Council made nó new Canons, but confirmed the former, and ſo did the *Trullane* Canons, which are called by the name of the Canons of the Sixth General Council, and do moreover blame the Church of *Rome* for ſome private Cuſtoms of her own, and command her to amend them, which ſhe yet never did; and theſe are the only General Councils that ever have been, and therefore there has been no Authority upon Earth to alter theſe Conſtitutions; from which it is plain, the Pope has no Authority of Juriſdiction over us in *England*. And in caſe Differences cannot be ended in Pro-

vincial Councils, there is no other Remedy provided by way of Appeal, or judicial Proceeding, but a General Council. There are only two Canons that ſeem to have any Tendency to favour the Popes Pretenſions, but both the Councils themſelves will not be found of good Authority, and if they were, they do not prove what is laid Claim to from their Decrees.

The firſt is the Canon of the Council of *Sardica*, which is ſo famous for the Conteſt it cauſed between the *Africans* and the Biſhop of *Rome*, during ſeveral Popes times; for thoſe Canons were alledged as the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, whereupon the *Africans* did a while demurr to the Buſineſs, till they could ſend to the Patriarchal Seas for Copies of the *Nicene* Canons; and when they received an Anſwer, that they were only thoſe twenty generally known amongſt them, they did ſeverely blame the Biſhop of *Rome*, for attempting ſuch an Innovation. And at length when it was confeſſed it was only found in *Sardica*, they ſay they never heard of ſuch a Council, none of thoſe Canons were ever owned or received amongſt them, and they did be-

beſeech him for the Future to lay aſide ſuch worldly Pride, and to give them no more Trouble about any ſuch matter, ſince the Council of *Nice* had commanded, that each Province ſhould end all Matters within themſelves, without Appeals to a Foreign Power. And as the Event of the Diſpute is a judged Caſe againſt his Canonical Right, ſo the matter of the Canon is a great Argument againſt his Divine Right; for it is ſaid only, *Si placet honoremus ſedem Petri, If it pleaſe you, let us honour the Seat of* Peter, *&c.* Which does ſuppoſe it was not an Honour then belonging to it.

Epiſt. con. Carth. ad Celeſt. Papam.

Concil. Sard. Can. 3.

The next Council that is pretended, is one of later Date, held a little while ago at *Florence*, in Oppoſition to the Council of *Roſil*, which ſate at the ſame time, and was a truer part of the Church. But beſides the Exception againſt it at home, what was done there, was wholly rejected by the Greek Church, and never owned at this day; and even in that Decree which was yielded to, it did give the Pope no new Power, but as it's ſet down in the Acts of the œcumenical Councils and in the holy Canons; wherein

Laonic. Chal. cond. de reb. Turc. p. 4.

is reserved to him indeed a Primacy of Order, but not any Authority of Jurisdiction; that was carefully provided against in casting out that Clause, *Juxta determinationem sanctæ Scripturæ & dicta Sanctorum*, knowing well, that the Pope laid greater weight upon the complemental Letters of some Bishops, than he did upon the Canons of the Councils.

Con. Florent. Sess. 25.

And as there is nothing for the Popes Authority, so there is much against it; all the Canons do expresly prohibit any Invasion of one anothers Jurisdictions; and a man excommunicated by his own Provincial Church, is to be held as excommunicate all over the World, and no Bishop can receive him to his Communion without incurring the same Guilt, while that Censure does continue. This is most clear and undoubted, but that the Pope had any Authority to absolve those that were justly excommunicated by their own Bishops, is a Novelty no where to be found in the Canons of the Church, which the Pope does swear to observe.

Can. Apost. 33. Con. Nicen. c. 5.

See Distinct. 16. c. 12.

Object. But did not *Athanasius*, and St. *Chrysostom*, fly to the Bishop of *Rome*, when they were injured? and

are

are there not decretal Epiſtles ſtill extant, which are Reſolutions and Determinations of Popes, upon the ſeveral Appeals that were made to them?

Anſ. Determining of Controverſies upon Appeal, when Parties referr it, does not inferr any Authority or Juriſdiction; all thoſe Appeals and that Recourſe which was made to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was not properly by way of a Legal Appeal, as an ordinary Judge, but it was for Advice and Direction, and to get him to interpoſe, that they might receive no Injury from their proper Judges. Juſt as our King of *England* did act as an Umpire and Mediator between the ſeveral Princes that were at War with one another; and yet no Body does thence conclude he had any Authority over them, though all Parties did apply themſelves and make their Complaints to him, and deſire his Authority might be interpoſed for their Satisfaction. Now as the Law of right Reaſon does oblige all Mankind to aſſiſt one another in compoſing Wars and Tumults, ſo the Rules of Chriſtianity do engage all Chriſtian Biſhops to endeavour to compoſe Schiſms, and end Controverſies in the Church;

which they may do by a friendly Mediation as well as a juridical Decree; and this was the only meaning of the Pope's Interposing in foreign Matters out of his own Jurisdiction. And as for his decretal Epistles, they were only consiliar Resolutions, which perhaps being found wise and useful were afterward by the several Churches made into Laws, so that their Obligation is by Virtue of their own Decrees, and not the Popes Power: And if there be any Instances to be given, wherein the Pope did exercise a more formal Jurisdiction, it was by the Authority of the Emperour, or the voluntary Concession of the Bishops, or else by Usurpation, as in these latter times; but it was not from any Power given him by Divine Right, or the Canons of the Church.

But lest any should imagine, that though there be no Evidence for the Authority of the Pope in the Canons of the Councils, yet the Fathers may declare there was a Jurisdiction belonging to him over all Churches by Divine Right. To take off any such Suspition, at present I need say no more but this, That the Laws of the Church ought to take place before the

the Sayings of private Doctors; and if there had been any ſuch Tradition, the Councils would not have excluded the Exerciſe of it, as they have done. Neither indeed do we find any thing in the Fathers that ſhews, the Pope had any ſuch Right, but 'tis too long a Work to examine and give an Account of their Teſtimonies, but in all Reaſon we ought to ſuppoſe they are agreeable to the Definitions of the Councils, whoſe Authority they yielded to, with great Reverence and Submiſſion.

Now you have ſeen how repugnant this uſurped Juriſdiction of the Pope is to Antiquity, and how much his Proceedings are condemned by the Canons of the Church; pray do but conſider to what Miſchiefs and Inconveniences nay horrid Crimes it will lead you. Perhaps they have concealed from ſome of you the tragical Part of their Religion, and they have not thought it as yet neceſſary to acquaint you with the Depth of their Deſigns, but if you ſhip your ſelves with them and let them be your Pilote, you muſt ſtear their Courſe or put your ſelves into another Bottom; and that is the thing I ſhould perſwade you to, from the

the Danger you will run into if you ſide with them. You will (it may be) ſtartle when we tax you with Depoſing of Princes, Rebelling againſt your own Sovereign, Murdering of Hereticks, Burning and Undermining Cities, only to promote the *Roman* Religion; but if you are reſolved to follow the Court of *Rome*, and take the Pope and thoſe Prieſts that he will command you to obey, for your Guides, this you muſt believe, and this you muſt practiſe; for ever ſince the time of *Gregory* the ſeventh, who was choſen Pope in the Year 1072. This has been the Doctrine and this the Practice of the *Roman* Court; and leſt ſome ſhould ſcruple at the Popes ſingle Opinion herein, they have obtained ſeveral Councils, ſuch as the *Romaniſts* count General, to determine the ſame; and this is evident from the Council of *Laterane*, held under *Alexander* the Third; and the ſame is decreed in the pretended Canons of the Council held under *Innocent* the Third, which is oftentimes called by the name of a General Council by the Council of *Trent*, and ſeveral of the Canons quoted under that Title. And in Purſuance of this Doctrine, they have never failed

Concil. Lateran. 3. ſub Alex. 3. Can 27

Concil. Lateran. 4. Inno 3. c. 3.

to

to exert their Power, whenever they were able, againſt all Heretical Kings, and others, that did not ſubmit to their Authority. 'Tis needleſs to inſtance in Particulars; all modern Hiſtories are full of their Cruelties and Conſpiracies, and even this Plot we have under Examination, is but a Conſequent of the ſame Principle. Since then a Pope and Council, in the Opinion of the *Roman* Court, have determined that this ought to be done, conſider with your ſelves into what evil Circumſtances you are brought, by joyning with that Communion; if you go along with them, then you renounce all your former Loyalty, change your Faith, break ſo many Promiſes and Oaths that you have taken againſt it; you venture upon Murder and Rebellion, declare your ſelves to be Enemies to all Mankind beſides your own Party, and to have Power, whenever the Pope ſhall think fit, to take away their Lives, their Eſtates, and utterly to exterminate both Prince and People that are not of your Religion. Thereby you oppoſe the whole Current of the Chriſtian Church, condemn the noble Army of Martyrs, or at leaſt the Popes that did not give them

Decr. l. 5. tit. 7. de Hæret. c. 14.

them Authority to vindicate themſelves; you make the Chriſtian Name to ſtink upon the Earth, as far as in you lies, and thereupon force People to avoid you, as they would do ſo many Lions and Tygers, leſt you ſhould, according to your Principles, come to poyſon, and deſtroy them.

But, if you ſtill hold your former Perſwaſions, and are reſolved to abhor and deteſt ſuch wicked deeds; then conſider what Foundation you have for your Religion. Will you follow your own private Spirit againſt the Church? Do you hope to be ſaved out of the *Roman* Communion? Why ſhould you not Aſſent to them in theſe, as well as other Parts? You do plainly here ſet up your own Judgments againſt the Judgment of the Church, and can no longer pretend to take the Church of *Rome* for your Guide; and you will ſuffer all the *Anathema*'s and Excommunications that any Proteſtant does. If therefore the Light of Nature, and the common Principles of Chriſtianity, do ſo far remain in you, that you believe they are deceived in theſe Matters, think with your ſelves how it can poſſibly be, that you can hold Communion with

with any that openly profeſs ſuch horrid and Heretical Doctrines. And then farther reaſon it with your ſelves, Whether they may not be miſtaken in other Matters alſo. Is it likely that God will dwell with ſuch impure Creatures, and that he has commanded us to follow ſuch Guides, which teach ſuch bloudy and abominable Opinions? If you will reſolve to be blind, and ſhut your Eyes, notwithſtanding all this, and give up your ſelves to hearken to their Deceits, there can be no Excuſe ever after. But if you will be ſo Generous, as upon this occaſion, to take upon you to examine their Principles, then go on throughout, and you ſhall find they are not the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Church, but the private Fancies of the Papacy and *Roman* Court, that you have been deluded withal, in other Points, as well as this. Try it when you will, impartially, and you will find it demonſtratively true, That there is not one Point aſſerted in the Articles of the Church of *England*, that is contrary to the Decrees of any of the General Councils, which the Catholick Church has owned to be ſuch, nor contrary to any received Tradition, that was alwayes practiſed, or any thing

thing taught by the general Conſent of the Antient Fathers. You do agree with me, that the Court of *Rome*, and ſome of her General Councils, have departed from the Doctrine of Chriſt, concerning the Depoſing of Princes, and Transferring of Kingdoms, and therefore are not Infallible in all things. I will deſcend down to ſome other Particulars in Controverſie, and which we allege as Grounds of our Reformation, and ſhew, that even in them alſo, They follow Novelty, and We keep to the Antient Church; and were forced, in order to it, to Reform our ſelves. And ſince all Provincial Churches are to Order ſuch Matters, according to the Canons of the Church, our Biſhops here were not only bound to do it, but had Canonical Authority ſo to do.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Communion in One Kind.

OUR Saviour has ſaid, *John* 6. 53. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* Which almoſt all ancient Interpreters expound of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and extend it as well to the Cup, as to the Bread, in the Confeſſion of *Paul Donate*, a *Papiſt*; and *Thomas Aquinas* on that Text, ſays, *According to the Cuſtom of the Antient Church, as they did communicate of the Body, ſo they did communicate of the Blood alſo: which is yet obſerved in ſome Churches.* Pope *Gelaſius* goes farther, and calls the taking away the Cup, Sacrilege. *Comperimus quod quidam, ſumpta tantummodo Corporis Sacri portione, à calice ſacrati Cruoris abſtineant, qui proculdubio (quoniam neſcio qua ſuperſtitione docentur aſtringi) aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia diviſio unius ejuſdemque Myſterii ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt*

Diſt. 2. de conſecr. Can. comperimus, c. 12.

potest provenire. "We understand, that "some, having onely taken a portion of "the Sacred Body, do abstain from the "Cup of the Sacred Blood; who, with-"out doubt, (becaus they are taught "by a certain Superstition) ought to "receive the Sacrament entire, or to be "excluded entirely; for the division of "one and the same Mystery cannot "come to pass without great Sacrilege. I need not go far to prove this. The Council of *Constance*, that first made a Decree about the Sufficiency of Receiving in one kind, does likewise confess, that Christ instituted it in both kinds, and it was received by the Faithful under both kinds in the Primitive Church. We therefore think it safer to keep to the Institution of Christ, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, than to the present Novelty of the Church of *Rome*.

Con. Const. nust. sess. 13.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Tranſubſtantiation.

I Will not enter into Diſpute about the Nature of the Sacrament, nor how agreeable the Doctrine which the Church of *Rome* does maintain under the Word Tranſubſtantiation, is to the Faith of the ancient Church; many have laboured excellently in that Subject; I will name only two Paſſages out of the Ancients concerning this Matter, the firſt is out of *Theodoret.* Dialog. 1. *Our Saviour hath honoured the Symbols that are ſeen, with the Appellation of his* Body *and* Blood, *not changeing their Nature,* ἐ τλὼ φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, *but by adding Grace to Nature.* And in the ſcond Dialogue, the *Eutychian* Heretick drawing a Similitude from the Bleſſed Sacrament, ſays thus, *As the Symbols of our Lords* Body *and* Blood *are others before the Invocation of the Prieſt, but after the Invocation are changed; ſo the Lords* Body, *after his Aſſumption, was changed into the Divine Subſtance.* But *Theodoret* quickly replyes, *You are taken in your own Nets; for after Satisfaction, the myſtick Symbols*

are not changed from their own Nature, for they remain in their former Substance and Figure and Species, and they are to be seen and felt as they were before. Now nothing can be more opposite to the Sense of the Church of *Rome*, than these words of *Theodoret*, for the *Eutychian* Heretick did suppose the Body of Christ to be turned into the Divine Essence; as they do teach, the Sacramental Bread and Wine are turned into the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood; but this Similitude *Theodoret* will by no means allow, and makes that holy Mystery a proper Resemblance of the Catholick Doctrine. For as the Bread and Wine remain in their proper Nature, and Figure, and Species, and the Change that is made is by Accession of new Grace, leaving the former Substances in their Nature as they were; so it is in the Case of the Union between the Divine and Humane Natures, the Humane remains as it did, but the Divine Nature does unite it self to it, and preserve it in its former Nature and Substance. The other Saying shall be out of St.* *Ambrose If there be so great Force in the Word of the Lord Jesus, that those things did begin to be, which were not, how much more opera-*

Ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ οὐσίᾳ καὶ σχήματι.

* *Ambrose de sacram. lib. 4. c. 4. si tanta vis est in Sermone domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorium est, ut sint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur?*

operative is it, that they ſhould be what they were, and yet changed into ſomewhat elſe. That is, as *Theodoret* ſaid before, not a Change of the Nature, but an Acceſſion of Grace; they are Bread and Wine, as they were before, but Symbols of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, which they were not before; ſo they are the ſame but ſomewhat elſe likewiſe. And thus much is clear, and confeſſed by all ſides, that the Sacrament conſiſts of two parts, the outward and viſible Sign or Element, and the inward and Spiritual Grace, which all acknowledge to be the Body and Blood of Chriſt, which are exhibited to the Faithful in that ſacred Myſtery. And this is profeſſed likewiſe in the Church of *England*, in the Catechiſm, where 'tis ſaid, *the inward and ſpiritual Grace is the Body and Blood of Chriſt, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the Faithful in the Lords Supper.* And this is all the Fathers intend, or can be any ways gathered from their Meaning; but the Church of *Rome* will not reſt here, they muſt deſcend more nicely to the mode; it will not be ſufficient to ſay, we believe the inward part of the Sacrament is

the Body and Blood of Christ, but we must likewise declare, we believe there is no Bread there, though we see it, and taste it, and discern it by all the Organs of our Senses; this, besides the Falseness of the Doctrine, is such an Imposition, as was never known in the Church for eight hundred years together. So likewise for the word Transubstantiation, it was not known till long time after, or so much as used in any of the ancient Writers; much less made a Doctrine of the Church, and the Belief thereof, and required as a Condition of Communion. Not disputing therefore now, whether the Doctrine be true or false, it is certain, both the Word and that Belief that the Church of *Rome* does teach thereby, was never any part of the ancient Faith, nor enjoyned by any Law of the Church.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Invocation of Saints and Angels.

I Do not intend in this Queſtion, neither, to examine into the State of the whole Controverſie; but only in ſhort (as I did in the other Points) ſhew, that we in omitting ſuch Prayers, do more conform to the ancient Church than they. For Scripture to countenance this Practice, I do not find they commonly do pretend to it, nor any Reaſon from thence upon which they can found it. Neither is there the leaſt Colour of any thing tending that way, in the firſt three hundred years, neither do we diſcern the leaſt Indication, that there was any ſuch thing inſerted in the ancient Liturgies of the Church. Cardinal *Bona*, an induſtrious man, has of late written a learned Book, *De rebus Liturgicis*, but he ſhews no ancient Authority, that Invocation of Saints was found in any of them; nor do I ſee, that he does ſo much as reckon it up amongſt the Rites and Uſages that were then obſerved, but deſcribes the Primitive Service, and ſays nothing of it;

which he would never have done, nay he would not have been just to his Subject, for Leaving it out, but that he was sure it was an Addition brought into the Liturgies and Service of the Church in latter days.

Gregory the great, who sent over *Augustine* the Monk into *England*, has a Liturgy still extant, wherein there is the Order for observing Saints Festivals set down, and Prayers directed to God, that he would accept their Intercessions for us; but not a word of any Prayer made to them. Now if this Practice had been lawful, or as much as useful, it is not likely, that the Primitive Church should be ignorant of it, and so long without any such thing. Neither does *Bellarmine* out of his vast Store-house, who had all the Acts of the Church, that could make for the Church of *Rome*, laid down before him, produce one Testimony, that any such Invocations were used in the Primitive Churches Service. What private men may do, is nothing to the Purpose, and how panegyrical Orations are to be expounded, is not material, now to enquire but this, I dare say, that scarce any of those eminent Fathers Testimonies for

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the first four or five hundred years, or any of those Arguments that are brought from the great Frequenting of the Monuments of the Martyrs, and answer of their Prayers that were there made to God, which they did receive, will prove that 'twas thought laudable and useful then to invocate Saints, much less an approved Custom so to do. We find indeed some that did invoke Angels, much upon the same Motives as now The Church of *Rome* prayes to them; whence also they proceeded to build Temples and Oratories on purpose for Prayer to St. *Michael*, whereupon the Council of *Laodicea* takes Notice of it, and condemns it; calling it, νεκρυμμένη εἰδωλολατρεία *an hidden kind of Idolatry.* And that we might not think it was a Veneration paid to bad Angels, as some of the Church of *Rome* pretend, *Theodoret* assures us, that there were some that did perswade men to worship Angels, saying, *The Law was given by them, and sayes this Evil long continued in* Phrygia *and* Pisidia, *wherefore the Synod of* Laodicea *which is the* Metropolis *of* Phrygia *did prohibit by a Law, that they should not pray to Angels; and we may see at this day Oratories of St.* Michael *in*

Con. Laod. *Can.* 35.

Theodoret. in Coll. 2.

these and the neighbouring Places; they therefore did advise, pretending Humility, saying, that the God of the Universe could not be seen nor comprehended, neither could they come to him, but they ought to procure the Divine Favour by the Intercession of the Angels. Thus far *Theodoret.* The Council further adds, ὲ δεῖ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν *Christians ought not to name* (that is to call upon) *Angels* in their Prayers or Worship; for else, to speak of their excellent Nature, and to name them in praising God for their Guardianship over us, cannot be supposed any ways here to be forbidden. Besides the Silence of all ancient Liturgies and the Prohibition of the Council of *Laodicea*, there are many Sayings of the ancient Fathers which plainly shew they knew no such Usage or Tradition, in their Time, encouraged or approved in the Church. Thus *Iren.* *Iren. lib. 2. c. 57.* *The Church throughout the whole World, receiving divers Benefits from God, does grow perfect in the name of Christ, not doing any thing by Invocation of Angels, nor by Inchantments, or any naughty Curiosity; but cleanly, purely, and manifestly directing Prayers to God which made all things, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.* And

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Tertullian ſeems wholly to exclude any ſuch thing. *Theſe things I muſt not pray for from any other but from him, of whom I know I ſhall obtain them, becauſe it is he who alone is able to give.* *Apol. c. 3.*

Novatianus, an ancient Author *c.* 14. *de Trin. If Chriſt be only man, how is he preſent being called upon every where, ſeeing this is not the Nature of man, but of God, that he can be preſent in every Place? If Chriſt be only a man, why is a man called upon in our Prayers as a Mediator, ſeeing the Invocation of a man is judged of no Force to yield Salvation?* Origen *againſt* Celſus. *All Prayers and Supplications and Interceſſions, and Thanksgivings are to be ſent up to God the Lord of All, by the high Prieſt who is above all Angels, being the living Word and God. For, to call upon Angels, we not comprehending the Knowledge of them, which is above the Reach of man, is not agreeable to Reaſon; and if by Suppoſition it were granted, that the Knowledge of them (which is wonderful and ſecret) might be comprehended, this very Knowledge declaring their Nature unto us, and the Charge over which every one of them is ſet, would not permit us to preſume to pray to any other but unto God the Lord* *Lib. 5.*

over

over all, who is abundantly ſufficient for all, by our Saviour the Son of God.

Athanaſ. Orat. 4. cont. Arian.

Athanaſius againſt the *Arians*. *No man would pray to receive any thing from the Father and the Angels, or from any other Creatures, neither would any ſay, God and the Angel give me this. Again He did not couple one of the created and natural Angels with God that did create them, nor omitting God that fed him, did deſire a Bleſſing for his Nephews, from an Angel; but ſaying, which delivered me from all Evil, he did ſhew, that it was not any of the created Angels, but the Word of God, whom he joyned with the Father, and prayed unto: Neither* Jacob *nor* David *did pray to any other for Deliverance.*

Orat. de obit. Theod.

St. Ambroſe *ſays, God alone is to be invoked; and St.* Auguſtine *tells us expreſsly, the Saints and Martyrs are named in their Place and Order, but they are not invoked by him that does ſacrifice;* which cannot be ſaid of the modern Practice of the Church of *Rome*. The ſame holy Father ſpeaks againſt this Uſage in his Book of Confeſſions; *Whom ſhould I find that might reconcile me to thee? Should I go to the Angels? with what Prayer, with what Sacrament? Many endeavouring to return unto thee,*

De civit. Dei l. 22. c. 10.

See the Order of the Maſſe, before the Canon.

Confeſſ. lib. 10. & c. 41.

thee, and not being able to do it of themſelves, as I here, have tryed theſe things, and have fallen into the Deſire of Curious Viſions, and were accounted worthy of Deluſions. And in his Book, *De cura pro mortuis*, he plainly does affirm, that the Dead do not know what is done here, and does allege that Text to prove it, *Abraham is ignorant of us*; and he ſeems here to intimate, what knowledge they have of Affairs of this World, is conveyed to them from Perſons that die, and ſo get thither, or elſe by good Angels which are employed here for the Benefit of Mankind, but does not give the leaſt Ground of his Belief of their knowing all things by beholding the Divine Eſſence, or by any particular Revelation from God, or any other Device found out in latter dayes to give a colourable Pretence for making Prayers to Saints departed. St. *Hierom* agrees in the very ſame Notion, *Happy is* Nepotianus *who does not ſee nor hear theſe things*; and before in the ſame Epiſtle *Quicquid dixero quia ille non audit mutum videtur.*

Aug. de cur. pro mortuis. c. 13. 14.

Epiſt. 3. *ad Heliod.*

Gregory Nazianzene ſpeaks a little doubtingly of it, εἴ τις ἀίδηος, *if there be any Underſtanding of theſe things, hear O thou*

In Jul.

Orat. 11. *in Gorg.* *thou Soul of* Conſtantine: and in his Oration upon *Gorgonia* ſays, *if thou haſt any Care of the things done by us*; and *holy Souls receive this Honour from God, that they have any Feeling of ſuch things as theſe.* Now if there had been any ſuch known Practice in the Church, of Invoking of Saints, the other Fathers would not have ſpoken ſo poſitively againſt it, or *Gregory Nazianzene* been ſo uncertain in his Sentiments about their Knowledge and Concern in humane Affairs. Neither is it to be imagined, if the Practice of Invoking them had been any way laudable or uſeful, thoſe Primitive Ages would have been ignorant of it.

But when it pleaſed Almighty God to honour thoſe holy Martyrs, who laid down their Lives for the Teſtimony of the Truth, with granting Returns of thoſe Prayers that were made at their Memorials, and working ſundry Miracles at the Places where they were buried; thence ſome began to imagine, that if they prayed to the Saints, they ſhould obtain a more ſpeedy Relief. But herein they were much miſtaken; for it

it does not follow at all, becauſe they received the Anſwers of their Prayers offered up at thoſe Places, that they were Anſwers of Prayers made to Saints. But God Almighty, in Approbation of the Sufferings of the Saints, did give Anſwer to Prayers that were made to himſelf, though at the Monuments of the Saints. Neither is it at all probable, that they will be ever the more ready to help us for our praying to them, if they could hear; becauſe, as they attained to that Honour by their great Love and Zeal they ſhewed for the Honour of God, ſo they ſtill retain the ſame, and a higher Devotion for his Service, and therefore will be moſt ready to help thoſe that are moſt zealous and fervent in calling upon God, and not regard thoſe that lye fondly calling upon themſelves; the way then to obtain their Aſſiſtance, if they can give us any, is to be conſtant and hearty in our Devotion to God, and then we need not fear but we ſhall have all the Help that the Saints and Angels can give us, without calling upon them; bu t about the fourth Age, ſome in private, and ſecretly did begin to invoke Saints, but

'twas

'twas not a thing practiſed publickly in the Church, nor put into the Liturgies, till long after; ſo that in the moſt favourable ſenſe, it has no warrant from Scripture. 'Twas unknown for the firſt three hundred years in the Church, But it has been much advanced in theſe latter Ages; and the Expreſſions uſed towards the Saints, have been very Scandalous, and highly derogating from the Honour of God. We therefore in the Church of *England*, in this Point likewiſe, chooſe rather to follow the Example of the Primitive Chriſtians, and avoid the dangerous Superſtitions which the Church of *Rome* has brought into the Churches Service, in this kind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Worſhip of Images.

AMongſt all the Points in Controverſie, none has cauſed more Diſturbance and Contention in the Church, than this about the Worſhip of Images, and now comes propoſed with the Pretence of the greateſt Authority of any other; there being a Council at this time

time owned to be General, by a great part of the Chriſtian World, wherein this Practice was eſtabliſhed; and the ſame Cuſtome at this day ſtiffly maintain'd, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, though (God be thanked) not determined as a Point neceſſary to Salvation. And though the Miſchiefs that have happened from thence have been many and great, and divers private Chriſtians have fallen into dangerous Doctrines and Practices upon this occaſion; yet the Decrees of the Councils in this matter, have been more moderate; but however, they have brought in many Abuſes, to the great hindrance of Piety, and Scandal of Religion. I ſhall endeavour in this, (as I have done in other Points) to ſhew, that there is no Command or Obligation from any Act of the Catholick Church, to require us to give ſuch Adoration to Images, as is defended by other Churches; and therefore we may, not onely Lawfully, but ought in Duty to remove theſe Stumbling-blocks, and Cauſes of Superſtition, out of the way.

Clemens Alexandrinus ſayes, *We have no ſenſible Image of ſenſible matter, but ſuch an Image as is conceived to have Under-* *Clem. Alex. in protrept.*

derſtanding; he means Jeſus Chriſt the true Image of his Father. *Origen* writing againſt *Celſus* has theſe Words, *Who, having his right Wits, will not laugh at him, who after ſuch great Philoſophical Diſcourſes, if God, or Gods, does look on Images, and either preſenteth his Prayer unto them, or by Sight of them offereth it unto him who is conceived thereby, unto whom he imagineth he ought to aſcend from that which is ſeen, and is but a Sign and Symbol of him?* *Tertullian* likewiſe ſaith, *If therefore we do not worſhip Statues and cold Images, like indeed to the Dead whom they repreſent, and which Birds and Spiders underſtand well enough, does it not deſerve Praiſe rather than Puniſhment?* *Minutius Fælix* ſays, *Cruces non colimus.* The ſame or much like we find in *Arnobius*; and *Lactantius*, and all the reſt of the Fathers that write Apologies againſt the Gentiles, ſufficiently deride and expoſe their Image-worſhip; but if they had worſhipped Chriſt by a Crucifice, or bowed down before ſuch a Repreſentation, the Heathens would have objected that Practice to them, and they muſt have been put to a Diſtinction to have defended themſelves; but we meet with no ſuch

Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 7.

Tertul. Apol. c. 12.

Excuſe

Excuſe, nor the leaſt Footſteps of any ſuch Practice, much leſs of any ſuch Tradition. *Epiphanius* writing againſt the *Collyridians* that worſhipped the Virgin *Mary*, calling her the Queen of Heaven, gives this Account of the Original of Image-Worſhip, *That the Devil brought them in under Pretence of juſt* [that is, to do Right to famous men, in honouring them in their Images after their Death,] *creeping into the Minds of men, and conſecrating or deſigning the mortal Nature to divine Honours, and to ſet before mens Eyes humane Likeneſſes, and Images poliſhed with great Art; that ſeeing they that were worſhipped were dead,* (and out of Sight) *their Images might appear and receive the Honour and Adoration. The Body of* Mary *indeed was holy, She was a Virgin to be honoured, not to be adored*; no one can imagine they made her the Supreme God, but they did exceed in their Worſhip of her upon the account of her Holineſs, and becauſe ſhe was the Mother of our Lord; much leſs then did they adore Images. St. *Ambroſe, The Church knows no vain Idea's, and divers Figures of Images, but the true Subſtance of the Trinity*; and in his Oration upon the Death

Epiphan. Hæreſ.

Ambroſ. de fuga ſeculi c. 5.

of *Theodoſius*, ſpeaking of *Elena*, to whom the Croſs on which our Saviour was crucified was revealed, ſays, *She did not worſhip the Wood, becauſe that was a Gentile Error, and a Vanity of the Wicked.* St. *Jerom. We worſhip one onely Image, which is the Image of the Inviſible and Almighty God.* And *Gregory Nyſſen* ſays, *He that adores a Creature, though he does it in the name of Chriſt, is a Worſhipper of Images.* We muſt not omit St. *Auguſtine*, who is altogether as clear in condemning this Practice, ſevering the manners of ſome men, from the Uſage of the Church.

Ambroſ. in obitum Theodoſ.

Hierom. in Ezek. lib. 4. c. 16.

Orat. in placill.

De moribus Eccleſ. c. 34.

Do not gather together the Profeſſors of the Chriſtian name, who do not know to ſhew forth the Efficacy of their Profeſſion. Do not follow after the ignorant Multitude, who are Superſtitious about true Religion it ſelf, or ſo given up to Luſt, that they forget what they promiſed to God; I know many that do worſhip Sepulchres and Pictures. But now I warn you of that, that you leave off to revile the Church, by reproaching her with the manners of thoſe men which ſhe does condemn, and does endeavour daily to correct as evil Children. So that 'tis evident beyond all poſſible Diſpute, that this Practice is ſo far from being

being an Apoſtolical Tradition, that it was condemned and ſpoken againſt by the moſt eminent Fathers of the Church.

But afterward, in the ſeventh and eighth Ages, and eſpecially in the ſecond Council held at *Nice*, in the year 787. the Veneration of them is much advanced and commended, and this is the Council which is now pretended to be the Seventh general one, but 'tis only pretended; for it was a long time before it was generally conſented to in the Eaſt; and others do not ſtick to ſay, that the Oppoſers of Image-worſhip did continue there till the Taking of *Conſtantinople*. And in the Weſt, it was moſt ſtrongly oppoſed, firſt by the Princes and Biſhops of *England* * about the year 792. and by *Charles* the Great afterward. And the Biſhops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany* aſſembled by his Command at the Council of *Frankford*, *Anno Domini* 794. wherein the Nicene Council was ſet aſide, touching the Point of worſhipping Images, as is confeſſed by *Bellarmine Baronius*

V. Photy Epiſt. Encyclic.

* Our Engliſh Hiſtorians ſpeak of the Biſhops condemning the ſecond Nicene Coun. becauſe it decreed, *Imagines adorari debere quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur. Simeon Durel. Rog. Hoveden. & Matt. Weſtm. A.* 792. or 793.

nius and *Sirmondus*, and long before them by the ancient Historians and Writers of that Age (*a*) or quickly after, which call it a Pseudo-Synod, becaufe it decreed the Worship of Images; and *Nicetas Choniates* a Greek Annalift, fays, (*b*) Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται, *the Worship of holy Images is equally forbidden by the* Armenians *and* Almains. *Ludovicus Pius* Son to *Charles* the Great, *Anno* 824. aſſembled the Doctors of *France* together at *Paris*, and had their Reſolution againſt this Nicene Synod; and about that time, *Jonas Aurelianenſis*, and alſo *Agobardus*, wrote againſt the ſame, as *Gretherus* does confeſs; and *Papirius Maſſonius*, who ſet it out, ſays in his Preface, *He detecting moſt manifeſtly the Errours of the* Grecians, *touching Images and Pictures, denieth that they ought to be worſhipped, which Opinion all we Catholicks do allow, and follow the Teſtimony of* Gregory *the Great concerning them.* Moreover it is very much to be conſidered, that *Nicolaus Primus*, or *Hadrianus ſecundus*, who lived after the Second Council of *Nice*, reckon up only ſix Gene-

(a) *Hincmar. lib. 20. cont. Hincmar. Ludun. Engoliſmus Monachus in vita Car. M. Ado, Rhegino, Herman. contract.* &c.

(b) *Nicet. Chon. Ann. lib 2. de impér. Iſa. Ang.*

General Councils, and wholly leave out this pretended ſeventh Council, the ſecond of *Nice*. See the ſeventh Epiſtle of *Nicolaus* 1. and the 27 Epiſtle of *Hadrian* the Second to *Carolus Calvus*; it will be very material alſo to take Notice of *Baronius*'s Comment upon this Omiſſion, with which *Binius* alſo contents himſelf, Bar. *ad An.* 863. *n.* 6. *In all the reſt of the Patriarchal Sees, except* Conſtantinople, *there were wont to be reckoned only ſix œcumenical Synods in publick Confeſſions and Profeſſions; as we read it was done in the Synodal Decree now recited.* Photius *does witneſs, that in his encyclical Epiſtle, ſent to all the patriarchal Sees of the Eaſt (which we will ſet down by and by below; ſince he did labour with them to this Purpoſe,) That they would not recount ſix only, as* Nicolaus *ſeemed to do, but ſeven Synods with equal Approbation, and the Title of OEcumenical.* [So that hitherto *Baronius* does confeſs, this ſecond of *Nice* was not owned for a General Council, that is, above ſeventy years after the Council was held.] *So that what we ſee was done by* Nicolaus, *was done alſo by the reſt of the ancient Patriarchal Sees; as is evident by the Teſtimony of* Photius *an Adverſary. The Cauſe*

Binius in notis in Con. Rom. quartum ſub Nicol. 1.

whereof (as *Photius* does add) *was becauſe the Acts never came to them.* [That is indeed, they never approved of them; for if they had approved of the Acts, they would have ſeen them to be ſure, and kept them with them] *and* Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius *does give the ſame Reaſon why they were not extant at* Rome, *becauſe the Synod was approved and confirmed by* Hadrian *and his Succeſſors, yet becauſe the Acts were ſo ill tranſlated, Poſterity did not honour it with the ſame Commendation, namely, with the Title of Oecumenical, till by comparing more Faithful Copies, it was turned into Latine out of a pure Fountain; So that* Nicolaus *when he is ſilent about it does ſuſpend his Judgment.* But ſo did *Hadrian* after him, and how long this Suſpenſion was, we may learn from *Bellarmine*, *Baronius* might have ſaid plainly, that at that time it was not received, and we know in *Frankfort* it was plainly rejected. And the Church univerſal has never met by her Repreſentatives to take off this Suſpenſion and Condemnation, ſo that it is plain, the Suſpenſion or rather Rejection does ſtill continue; for though particular Churches

Bellarmine ſays of the Council of *Nice* and Epiſtle of Pope *Adrian* in the Defence of it, *Hæc omnia latuerunt & noſtro ſeculo primato edita ſunt de ſanct. reliqu. c.* 22.

Churches have received this ſecond of *Nice*, yet how unwillingly it has been forced upon them, it cannot appear, unleſs they had the Liberty to declare themſelves in a free Council; private Perſons have expreſſed their Diſſatisfaction about it. By all which, it does demonſtratively appear, that the Second of *Nice* was never owned by the Church for a General Council; that there is no Tradition or Law of the Church for the Worſhip of Images or Reliques, or Saints or Angels; but 'tis a Practice which has grieved and troubled the Wiſe and Sober men in all Ages, ever ſince it began, and has been the Cauſe of more Contention and Oppoſition, than almoſt any other Point. And the Truth of it lyes here, the ſubtle and politick men find it a thing very pleaſing to the vulgar and ſuperſtitious, and whereby they make Advantage, and thereupon uphold it; and then the Doctors and Writers muſt bend their Brains, and uſe all Artifices to defend and maintain the Reaſonableneſs of it, which they being never able to do, plunge themſelves into infinite Labyrinths and Contradictions. And if we take it in the moſt favourable Senſe, it is but a light

and fanciful thing, tending to Foppery and Superſtition, and not becoming the Gravity and Seriouſneſs of religious Duties.

We are far from any Rudeneſs or Stoical Inſenſibility, ſo as wholly to condemn all Uſe or civil Honour that is ſhewed to a Picture; but allow them not only as Ornaments, but as Memorials of deceaſed Perſons; and for the honour we bear to the Prototype, would more or leſs value the Image, and honour it with ſuch Honour, as is proper to an Image; which is, to preſerve it carefully, to look upon it with Delight, and ſuffer no Indignity and Contempt to be offered to it. But I would not honour it in the ſame manner as I would the Perſon it ſelf, becauſe 'tis not proper to attribute any ſuch thing to any inanimate Repreſentation. Adoration therefore in any kind is fondly done to Images, and many great Miſchiefs have come by it. We therefore in the Church of *England* uſe the true Moderation, not peeviſhly condemning all Civil Regard to Pictures, but piouſly prohibiting all ſuperſtitious Bowing down to, and Adoration of them.

I have

I have been the larger upon theſe two Points, of Invocation of Saints, and Worſhip of Images, becauſe the preſent *Greek* and *Roman* Churches do now differ from us in thoſe Particulars; But, I hope, from what has been ſaid, it does evidently appear, that the Blame lyes on their ſide, and they are Superſtitious Novelties, not onely wanting the Example of the Primitive Church, but alſo Condemned by the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches themſelves, in former times.

CHAP. IX.

Gregory *the* Great, *againſt the preſent Church of* Rome.

I Will not enquire into any farther Particulars in Difference between us and the Church of *Rome*; But for the better ſatisfaction of all Pious and Ingenuous Minds, I ſhall make it appear, that the Church of *England* does not onely better agree with the Faith and Practice of the Catholick Church, but alſo with the Profeſſion of the *Roman* Church, in the time of *Gregory* the *Great*,

Great, who ſent over *Auguſtine* the *Monk* into *England*, to Preach the Goſpel amongſt us.

And firſt, I will begin with the Point of the Nullity of the Marriage of *Henry* the Eighth with Queen *Katharine*, it being within the prohibited Degrees, (*Levit.* 18. 16. *Thou ſhalt not uncover the nakedneſs of thy Brothers Wife.* Again, Chap. 20. 21. *If a man ſhall take his Brother's Wife, it is an unclean thing.*) wherewith the Papiſts do think they have ſo much reaſon to reproach us; but if *Gregory* the Great may be allowed to determine the Matter, he will juſtifie Us, and condemn Them. For, *Auguſtine* deſiring to be ſatisfied by *Gregory*, what Degrees of Kindred did make Marriages unlawful; amongſt other things, *Gregory* gives this Anſwer: *It is prohibited for any one to be joyned with a Kinſwoman, who was made the Fleſh of a Brother by a former Conjunction* [or Marriage] *for which thing* John Baptiſt *had his Head cut off, and was crowned with holy Martyrdome. To whom it was not commanded, that he ſhould deny Chriſt, and yet he died for the Confeſſion of Chriſt, becauſe the ſame Lord Jeſus had ſaid, I am the Truth; becauſe* John *was killed for the Truth, he poured*

Reſpond. Greg. *ad ſex interrog.* Auguſt.

poured out his bloud for Christ. So that, if they blame us, they must blame their own Pope *Gregory* the *Great*, who gave us such Instructions, and did not then make bold to dispense with the Laws of God to oblige Princes, and gain them to his Interest; the Novelty therefore in this Point and Change that is made, is clearly on the part of the *Church* of *Rome.*

Of Communion in one kind.

In the time of *Gregory* the Great, and according to the Practice of *Augustine* the *Monk*, the Holy Eucharist, in all publick Communions, was ever given to the Laity, as well as Clergy, in both kinds, and continued so to be done for some hundreds of years after; but now the Laity of the *Romish* Communion never partake of the Cup all their lives, though our Saviour has said, *Verily, verily, except ye eat of the Flesh of the Son of man, and drink his Bloud, ye have no Life in you.* Joh. 6.53.

Of Invocation of Saints and Angels.

There is ſtill extant a Liturgy, or Form of Publick Adminiſtration of Prayers and Sacraments, under the name of *Gregory* the *Great*, and was ſuppoſed to be uſed at *Rome* in his time; but there is not the leaſt foot-ſtep of any Invocation or Prayer made to Saint or *Angel*, throughout the whole Office; but now 'tis quite otherwiſe; the Publick Prayers of the *Romiſh* Church are filled with Litanies and Prayers made to Saints and Angels; which is plainly a Novelty no where approved, or countenanced by *Gregory*'s Liturgy. I know 'tis generally ſaid, that he was the firſt that brought in Prayers to Saints and Angels, into the Churches Service; and there is an Antiphonary publiſhed under the name of *Gregory*, wherein is put *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*. But ſuppoſe it were *Gregory* the Great's, yet in all probability this paſſage has been added ſince; for, we do not find that there are any Invocations made to other Saints, and this Paſſage comes in but odly, where it is inſerted; but, if upon the whole Matter, it were allowed, that

that *Gregory* were the Author of this Antiphonary, and of this Passage; yet, how much have they exceeded him in after-Ages, both in manner of Expressions, and multitude of Prayers offered up to Creatures? and so have very much departed from the Church of *Rome* in his time.

Of Worshipping Images.

In the Point of Images, *Gregory* the Great does likewise agree with us, in Condemning the Modern Practice of the Church of *Rome*, in his Epistle to *Severus* Bishop of *Massilia*. *Moreover, I do declare unto you, That long ago it came to my knowledge, that your Brotherhood, beholding certain Persons that did worship Images, did break those Images which did belong to the Church, and throw them down. And truly, we do commend you, for having a zeal, that nothing made with hands should be worshipped; but we judged, those Images ought not to be broken. Your Brotherhood therefore, ought to preserve the Images themselves, but to keep the People from worshipping them: that they which are unlearned might have whence to gather the knowledge of the History, but the* *Lib. 7. Ep. 111.*

the People might not offend by worshipping the Picture.

Lib. 9. Ep. 9. And, to the same *Serenus*, he writes in another Epistle, *It was brought to us, that you being heated with an inconsiderate Zeal, did break the Images of the Saints, under this pretence, that they ought not to be worshipped. And indeed, we commend you, that you did forbid that they should be worshipped; but we blame your breaking of them.--- The dispersed Children of the Church are to be gathered together, and they must be shewed out of the Holy Scriptures, that it is not lawful to worship any thing made with hands, because it is written,* Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serve. *If any therefore will make Images, do not thou forbid them, but, by all means, avoid the Worship of them. Your Brotherhood must carefully admonish them of this, that they be affected with a compunction of heart at the sight of the thing that is done, but that they humbly prostrate themselves at the Worship of the Almighty, and Holy Trinity onely.* Therefore they must not prostrate themselves neither to worship Saints nor Angels.

That

That the Pope *ought to be subject to the* Emperour, *and that the* Emperour's *Power is immediately from God.* Lib. 2. Ep. 62.

I being subject to your Command, have caused that same Law to be sent to divers Parts of the Earth; but because the Law it self does not agree with the Will of Almighty God. Behold I have declared it by my Suggestion to the most serene Lords, and so I have both ways done my Duty; I have yielded Obedience to the Emperour, and have not held my Peace in what I thought concerning the Cause of God.

In an Epistle to the Empress, he says, *Let your Piety, whom, together with your most serene Lord, Almighty God hath appointed to govern the World, by the means of Justice, pay your Service to him, from whom you received the Right of so much Power; that by how much more truly it doth serve the Author of all things, in the promoting of Truth, so much the more securely it may rule over the World that is committed to it.* He does not mention any thing here of the Kings deriving his Authority either from the Pope or the People. But says expressly, it is committed to him from God; neither does Lib. 4. Ep. 34.

does he plead any Exemption as Pope, but accounts it his Duty to yield Obedience to the Emperour, as well as any other man.

I cannot here paſs by another Teſtimony of *Gregory* the Great, quoted by the Church of *Leods*, in an Epiſtle to Pope *Paſchal* the ſecond, and extant amongſt the Epiſtles of Pope *Paſchal* the ſecond. *It is the part of an Apoſtolical man, to imitate an Apoſtle; and of a Prophetical man to imitate a Prophet; but, our Sins deſerving it, our Apoſtolical man,* [i. e. Pope] *who ought now to pray for the King, though a Sinner, that we might lead a peaceable and a quiet Life, does ſtir up Wars, that we might not lead a peaceable and quiet Life. Since the Apoſtolical and Prophetical words do agree together, I, a Daughter, do humbly ask of my Mother, the* Roman *Church, Whence has the Apoſtolical man this Authority, that, beſide the Spiritual Sword, he ſhould draw out another Sword for Slaughter againſt his Subjects? Who, of all the* Roman *Popes, before, did give Authority by their Decrees, that the Pope ought to uſe the Sword of War againſt Sinners? Gregory*, the firſt of that name, writing to *Sabinus* the Deacon, does ſhew what all the Popes before

Eccleſ. Leodienſ. in Ep. ad Paſchal. 2. inter Epiſt. Paſchal. 2.

before himſelf thought of this Matter, and what all after him ought to think. *There is one thing that you ought humbly to ſuggeſt to our moſt ſerene Lords, that if I their Servant would concern my ſelf in the death of the* Longobards, *the whole Nation of the* Longobards *would neither have King nor Dukes, nor Earls, but would be in great Confuſion; but, becauſe I fear God, I am afraid to concern my ſelf in the death of any man.* Lib. 7. Regiſt. c. 1. All from *Gregory* the Firſt were contented with this Example, and did uſe onely the Spiritual Sword, till *Gregory* the laſt, that is, to *Hildebrand*, who firſt of all girt the Sword of War upon himſelf againſt the Emperour, and after him, other Popes. *Who can judge a King?* Job. 34. *Helin* underſtood things better; who, in the Book of *Job*, ſaith of God, *Who calleth Governours wicked, and who maketh an Hypocrite to rule, for the Sins of the People?* Which *Gregory* expounding, ſaith, *Let no one that has ſuch a Governour, accuſe him, becauſe it was his own deſert that brought him to be ſubject to ſuch a perverſe Governour; let him accuſe his own Guilt, rather than the Injuſtice of him that governs; for it is written,* I will give them Kings in my wrath.

That I might not give my ſelf or the Reader any farther Trouble to ſearch into other Particulars, I will ſet down *Auguſtine* the Monks, third Queſtion, and then *Gregories* Anſwer; which will be ſufficient to juſtifie the Church of *England* in all other things wherein ſhe diſſents from the modern Practice of the *Roman* Church.

The third Interrogation that *Auguſtine* the Monk ſent to *Gregory* the Great. *Why, ſince the Faith is but one, are the Cuſtoms of the Churches ſo various? and there is one Cuſtom of celebrating the holy Euchariſt in the* Roman *Church, another is obſerved in the Churches of* France?

Gregory anſwers, *Your Brotherhood does know the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Church, wherein you were bred up: But it pleaſeth me well, that if you find any thing which may more pleaſe Almighty God, whether it be uſed in* Rome *or in* France, *or in any other Church whatſoever, that you ſhould carefully chooſe that, and infuſe it into the Church of the* Engliſh, *which is yet but new in the Faith. For we are not to love things for the Places, but Places for the good things that are in them; chooſe therefore out of all Churches thoſe things which are pious, which are religious, which are right;*

right; and theſe being gathered as it were into a Bundle, ſettle them for a Cuſtom in the minds of the Engliſh.

So that in the time of *Auguſtine* the Monk, it was not thought neceſſary that *England* ſhould conform to the Cuſtoms of *Rome* in all things, but it was left to his diſcretion, to chooſe out of all Churches, ſuch things as moſt did make for Piety and Edification. And why may not the Succeſſors of *Auguſtine* uſe the ſame Liberty? And upon this Principle and Motive, our Holy Biſhops in King *Edward*'s days, finding Prayers in *Latine* onely, according to the Order of the *Roman* Church, and a multitude of Burdenſome and Superſtitious Practices and Ceremonies impoſed upon the People, did compoſe a Liturgy in the Vulgar Tongue, that the People might praiſe God with their Underſtandings alſo; and likewiſe did ordain ſuch other Rites as they thought were moſt for Edification, and a Holy Life, ſtill retaining the one Holy Catholick Faith, and all the other neceſſary Duties of the Chriſtian Religion. But, becauſe we do not profeſs obedience to the See of *Rome*, and take all our Rules from Her, ſhe ſends over Emiſſaries to ſtir up Rebelli-

on and Sedition, and endeavour to overthrow our Church and Government. But, let the world judge, who do better obſerve the Directions and Faith of *Gregory* the Great, they or we. And, I hope, God will, in his due time, plead the Cauſe of this Church, and vindicate her from the oppreſſions of ſuch violent Schiſmaticks, that make it their buſineſs to cauſe Diviſions, and breed Confuſions amongſt us.

CHAP. X.

Papiſts guilty of Schiſm.

BUT theſe particular Novelties that I have ſpoken of hitherto, are but Opinions and Practices which do not neceſſarily break the Unity of Chriſtian, nor make a Schiſm and Separation from other Churches; if there were not other Innovations whereby the Church of *Rome* does take upon her to impoſe theſe and many other Rites and Cuſtoms upon all other Chriſtians; and if they do not willingly receive her Commands, ſhe does endeavour by Murder and Violence to force men to their Obſervance

vance; the chief Principles that ſtir them up and enable them to do all theſe things, are the Popes Supremacy and pretended Juriſdiction over all Chriſtian Churches, with Power of Exemptions and Reſervations and Appeals, contrary to the ancient Canons. Now whatſoever the Prerogative was, that belonged to Saint *Peter*, and whatſoever the Primacy is, that the Church did yield to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Authority of Diſpenſing with Canons in other Churches, and the Aſſuming Power of granting Exemptions, and Invading the Juriſdiction of other Biſhops is none of it, but contrary to the Canons of all the General Councils that ever were, contrary to the expreſs Commands and Decrees of innumerable Popes and ancient Fathers, which do plainly require all Perſons to obey their own Biſhops, and every Church to content it ſelf with it's own Rights, and to do all Acts of Ordination, Suſpenſion, Excommunication, by their own Synods, and with the Conſent of their own Biſhops only. And the Pope himſelf is to be held a Schiſmatick, if he does receive any juſtly excommunicate Perſon, till he ſubmits to his own

Church, and deſires the Abſolution of his own Biſhop; theſe matters are as clear in the Churches Laws and Tradition, as that two and two make four; and 'tis the greateſt Impudence in the World to deny it.

This then being ſuppoſed, that the Pope by the Canons of the Church, has no Juriſdiction nor Power over us in *England*, wherein the Greek, the Ruſſian, the Abyſſine, and all the Eaſtern Churches do agree with us, let me ask all the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, and all the Laity too of that Communion, how they can anſwer for themſelves that do thus manifeſtly oppoſe the Churches Laws and Tradition, and refuſe Communion and Obedience to their own Biſhops, and ſet up Altar againſt Altar, Church againſt Church, Communion againſt Communion, contrary both to the civil and eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Land? you excommunicate your ſelves here by this Act, if you are not otherwiſe excommunicated; and no Church in the World can receive you while you continue in this Mind, without the Guilt of Schiſm, and high Violation of the Churches Law, and the very eſſential Bonds of eccleſiaſtical Communion.

munion. Do not think by Confidence and Disdain to acquit your selves of this Charge; 'tis no trifling matter, and to be excused by Contempt; it is as much as your Salvation is worth; for the Rent is open and horrid, and the Scandals and Mischief of it are infamous and deplorable; all which will light heavy upon those that uphold and maintain it, and sinck them into eternal Damnation. I do not say, that all that are deceived into the Schism are thus to blame, but the Crime it self is so deadly, and very few, if any, in the Church of *England*, where they are called upon and desired to receive Information, and are often admonished of this their Schism and Breach of the Churches Unity, can have any tolerable Excuse. I know, according to your Temper, you will think to cast off all this with Scorn and Derision, at best with Neglect, and Resolution to inquire no farther; but that will not serve your Turn at the day of Judgment; the case is not so plain on your side, nor the matter against you so doubtful, that you will be able to plead Ignorance. In time of Peace and Quiet, Errors may silently creep upon men, and they may not be sensible of their

Sins, but now there are formed open Contentions in the Church; and these not private, nor little, but Churches against Churches, Kingdoms against Kingdoms, West against East, vast Multitudes are engaged in one common Quarrel; and not only Breach of Charity and Neglect of Discipline, a Deluge of Superstition and Errour has overspread Christendome upon this Account, but there have been many bloody Wars, horrid Massacres, Treasons and Conspiracies acted and contrived upon the Score of Difference in Religion; and all this is owing originally to the Court of *Rome*, which does oppose it self to all Churches that deny Obedience to her. Now then, the matter of Fact being evident, that the Church of *Rome* and those of her Communion do oppose themselves to four parts of five of those Christians that say, they hold all the Catholick Faith, and declare it in their Confessions and Laws, as I have shewed you but now: they must have some clear Evidence from the ancient Church, or else they must presently own they are the Authors of all this Mischief: But there (I have proved to them likewise) they are wholly condemned; all the

the ancient Canons do give every Provincial and national Church and Kingdom full Authority to order all things within themſelves, without any Appeal or Moleſtation from any Power whatſoever but a General Council; wherein other Churches have as good a Party as the *Roman*; and the ancient Biſhops of *Rome* have ſtrictly preſſed and required the Obſervance of this Order. And upon this ſolid Principle, which is the Tradition and Law of the Catholick Church, we defend our ſelves, and command all within our Nation to embrace and live religiouſly in our Communion, under Peril of Schiſm from the Catholick Church, and the great Hazard of their Salvation; it will not be ſufficient for the Laity here to pretend they follow their own Prieſts and Biſhops, and that they have many able Doctors and great Kingdomes of their Perſwaſion; for when there is a flagrant Schiſm, as this is, it is not enough to follow the Church of *Rome* and her Paſtors, but they muſt be ſure that the Church it ſelf is not guilty of the Schiſm. Neither will it be enough for the Writers and learned men to buſie themſelves about Metaphyſical Notions

tions and Subterfuges, and then to think if they can baffle here and there a Writer, or overthrow a particular *Hypotheſis*, they may ſecurely ever after reſt ſatisfied in their own Way. The Laws and Conſtitutions of Churches are not to be thus refuted and turned off; Recriminations will not make them innocent; 'tis the Obſervance of the Law of God, and of Chriſtian Unity that only can excuſe at the day of Judgment.

CHAP. XI.

Popiſh Objections anſwered.

Obj. BUT do you of the Church of *England* then make your ſelves the Catholick Church, that you do ſo ſtrictly require all here to obey her Authority?

Anſw. It is far from our thoughts, to be guilty of ſo much Arrogance; it is the Schiſm of the Church of *Rome*, to pretend to be the Catholick Church; we own our Church to be indeed a true Mem-

Member of the Catholick Church, and deſire to approve our ſelves to God Almighty, and to all other particular Churches, by our Conformity to the Word of God, as it has been interpreted by the Catholick Church, and the General Councils.

Obj. That is the Rule that we profeſs to follow; and the reaſon why we depart from the Church of *England*, is, becauſe ſhe does not obſerve it.

Anſw. I confeſs, (as I quoted it but now, out of the Council of *Trent*) that is the Rule you profeſs, but I ſhewed you ſeveral Inſtances wherein you depart, both from that, and the Truth too.

Obj. Perhaps we have not altogether obſerved the Canons and Rules of the Ancient Councils, becauſe the reaſon of things may be changed, and the Church has Authority in any Age, to make ſuch Laws as ſhe thinks beſt for the preſent occaſion.

Anſw. I had thought Antiquity had been your Guide in all things; but that I perceive is but a Pretence, when it is is for your Turn; however, I will not enter into that Diſpute at preſent, only let me underſtand where the Church has

has exempted you from the Laws of the Ancient Church, or given you Authority to impoſe new Commands upon others.

Object. In ſeveral General Councils held in the Weſt, which are ten or above, the laſt whereof, and of greateſt Eſteem amongſt us, was held at *Trent.*

Anſw. I confeſs, there are many Weſtern Councils that are called General, in the latter Popiſh Editions of Councils; but they had other Notions of a General Council, about the beginning of the Reformation (when the Council of *Florence* was Printed by the Licence of *Clement* the Seventh, under the name of the Eighth Council) then they have had ſince: for there were many Occidental Councils greater than *Trent*, held before that time; and yet the Council of *Florence* was called the Eighth Council, becauſe there was a Concurrence of ſome of the *Greek* Church, though it was not owned by the reſt, at their Return home; neither is it received by them at this day, nor any other of theſe Weſtern Councils. So that

that a General Council being made by the Conſent and Authority of the whole Church, it is not poſſible for half of the Church to make a General Council; much leſs, for a fifth part againſt four others, that own and receive no ſuch Decrees.

Object. But the *Greek* Church, and all other Churches are fallen into Hereſie; and therefore all Chriſtian Paſtors being contained in the *Roman* Church, a Council aſſented to by them, muſt be a General Council.

Anſw. I confeſs, If we grant you that once, there were no more to be done: but how can that be proved? nay, is it not a moſt impudent Slander? for the Greek Church, and all other Reformed Churches, do own the *Nicene* and *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed, which contains all the Chriſtian Faith the Catholick Church ever yet required of all; men and ſhe did prohibit the making any Addition to, or Alteration thereof; and the Church of *Rome* calls it, *Firmum & Unicum Fundamentum*, the *firm*, and *onely Foundation*; and ſays, ſhe does think fit to expreſs it juſt in thoſe words wherein it is read in all Churches. *Concil. Trid. Seſs.* 3.

Moſt

moſt other Churches do agree to the Faith, as it was explained in all the following General Councils that ever have been yet; and when there is any other they will bear the greateſt Part in it; but there can be no Pretence to make a General Council without them, or to condemn them for Hereticks, while they own the ſame Catholick Faith, which ever yet hath been determined.

Object. But do not the Greek Church deny the Proceſſion of the holy Ghoſt from the Son? and is not that a dangerous Doctrine?

Anſw. I will not enter now into that Diſpute; it is ſufficient that *Peter Lombard* the Maſter of the Sentences, and *Thomas Aquinas*, two of their moſt eminent Schoolmen in the Church of *Rome*, do acknowledge the Difference is only in words, but not in the thing it ſelf; and is wholly grounded in the Inadequation of Languages, not in Senſe.

Petr. Lomb. lib. 1. Diſt. 11. in eandem nobiſcum Fidei ſententiam convenire videntur, licèt in verbis diſſentiant. Tho. ſum. 1. q. 36. 2. o.

Obj. But though the Greek Church and other Churches were not preſent at the Council of *Trent*, and other Councils; yet they being legally ſummoned and invited thither, there is no Reaſon that their Abſence and Neglect

gleſt ſhould hinder the Councils being General.

Anſw. To make a Council to be General, it is requiſite that it ſhould be the Act of the whole Church: if therefore the Major part did not meet upon ſuch an Invitation and Summons, neither receive the Decrees, and own the Authority of thoſe that were met; it can be no General Council. We are not to enquire what may be done, or ought to be done; but we know this, it cannot be accounted the Act of the Church, which is not owned by her: neither can one fifth part make a General Council, without the other four, or at leaſt the Major part of them.

Object. But, if theſe are not General Councils, yet they are Patriarchal Councils, and therefore all that belong to the Weſtern Patriarch, muſt be obliged to ſubmit to their Authority.

Anſw. Modern Writers, I know, do ſpeak much of the Authority of *Patriarchs*, and have brought in the Notion of a Patriarchal Council; but 'tis a Notion only; for I know no Authority or Law, for a Patriarch to ſummon Biſhops out of their own Provinces, to a Synod, when he pleaſes; nor any Obligation

gation lies upon them to any ſuch Councils, or to obey the Decrees of ſuch as ſhall hold ſuch a Synod. An Emperour, I confeſs, may call all Biſhops within his Dominions, from ſeveral Provinces, unto a Council; and ſo may a King, to a National Synod: or elſe the ſeveral Provinces may by mutual Agreement meet together in a Synod, (if the Civil Laws do not forbid it.) But if they ſhould at any time make Decrees in ſuch a Council, yet they oblige only by the voluntary Conſent of each Provincial Synod, which has Authority with the Conſent of the civil Power (by whoſe Authority it had been confirmed) to abrogate them all again, if they find them unlawful, or inconvenient, wherein they are to judge for themſelves. So that if at any time the Church of *England* did own the Popes Authority, and receive any of theſe Weſtern Councils, it was not by Virtue of any Obligation that lay upon them, or any Command of the Church, but by their own voluntary Conſent, and therefore their Decrees were made Laws here, by our ſelves only, and under the ſame Condition of other Laws. So that all things not contrary to the Word

Word of God, nor the Commands of the Catholick Church; though they were the Laws of Western Councils, and the Decrees of our own Synods, yet by the mutual Concurrence of Church and State, in their several Capacities, may be taken away, and no man can without Schism, object either the Command of the Pope, or of a Western Synod, to excuse his Obedience to our Church of *England*, notwithstanding any such Reformation.

These General Objections being answered, I come to others that relate more particularly to the Church of *England*.

Obj. First, They object, that our Reformation was not Religious and Good, because it was begun by the Luxury of one Prince, perfected by the Nonage of another, and restored and continued by the weakness of the Female Sex, and the Rapines of Courtiers.

Answ. You know very well I could recriminate the like, and much greater Crimes, even in Popes and Cardinals, besides Kings and Princes, and *Roman* Court-

Baron. ad An. 912. *n.* 7. This was the unhappy state of the Holy *Roman* Church at that time, that all things were managed at the Pleasure of *Theodora*, the Mother of *Morozia*, [the Prostitute of *Sergius* the *Pseudo-pape*] a most powerful Whore. *n.* 8. What a

foul face was there then of the Holy *Roman* Church, when most power ful, as well as most sordid Whores, did govern at *Rome*; by whose Will Bishops Seats were changed, and Bishops were made; and what is more horrid, and scarce to be named, *Pseudopontifs*, their Paramours, were thrust into the Seat of *Peter*, which are not to be reckoned in the Catalogue of *Roman Popes*, unless it be to shew forth the Order of so much time. Christ was then (as it seems) in a deep sleep in the Ship, when the Ship was covered with Waves, by the blast of these stormy Winds. He did sleep, I say, Who making as if he did not see these things, did suffer them so to be, while he did not arise as an Avenger: and what seems worse, while they were all thus snorting, there were no Disciples to awake the Lord out of sleep by their Cryes. What Priests and Deacons do you imagine were chosen Cardinals by these Monsters, since there is nothing so natural as for every one to beget another like himself? [*Note that* Baronius *does not call them* Pseudo-popes *because there were others then that had better Titles, but because of their scandalous Lives, and wicked wayes of being promoted.*]

Courtiers, if the Accusations were true, and the Objection to purpose: but it is not for Subjects to examine into the Motives and Actions of Kings and Princes; 'tis enough for us, that the Laws that are made are good, and such as we may submit to, and Enacted by the Supreme Power of the Realm, in due course; our Laws know no Minority, or weakness in our Princes; the Supreme Power with us is alwayes in perfect state.

Object. But your Religion is onely Parliamentary, and derived from the Civil Power, and founded in Sacrilege.

Answ.

Anſw. Whether ſome men that were concerned in the Reformation, were induced out of Covetouſneſs, and Sacrilegious Deſigns, I will not enquire; and it is nothing at all to the Church of *England*; they have given an account for what they did. Neither can any ſay, our Religion is only Parliamentary. That our Kings and Parliaments have made Laws for the Defence and Eſtabliſhing of our Religion, as *Conſtantine*, and *Theodoſius*, and *Martianus* did, is moſt true; and we bleſs God for their Favour herein: But that our Religion is onely Parliamentary, is not true; for our Articles, our Liturgy, our Canons, are Confirmed in Provincial Synods, as regularly as Laws have been ordained in any Church whatſoever. And the Acts of Parliament have afterwards added the Authority of a Civil Sanction to what was done; which is the ſame that all the Religious Emperours did, and all Chriſtian Kings and States have done the like.

See Biſhop *Sparrow's* Collection of Canons; particularly, the Synod 1552. publiſhed alſo by K. *Ed.* 53.

Object. But though your Articles and Canons were made in formal Synods, yet the men that ſate in thoſe Synods were not Canonical Biſhops, becauſe not rightly ordained.

Anſw. Let any one conſult our Ordinal both ancient and modern, and compare it with thoſe Forms (that are ſet out by *Morinus*) which were heretofore uſed in the Church, and he ſhall find, all that is eſſential is obſerved by us; nay, we have preciſely kept the very Words our Saviour himſelf did uſe for the ſame Purpoſe.

Object. But if your Form was good, and ſufficient, yet the Ordainers themſelves were Schiſmatical, and ſo could give no Juriſdiction and regular Authority to thoſe they ordained.

Anſw. As for our Ordination in King *Edwards* Time, when our Articles and Liturgy were firſt made, there is no Doubt of Validity can be made; for then the far major part of the Biſhops did readily agree to the Liturgy and Articles that were made by the Reformers, and confirmed in the Synod 1552. and even the greateſt Number of them that were in actual Poſſeſſion of Biſhopricks at King *Edward*'s Death were conſecrated under *Henry* the Eighth. And for the Succeſſion which was continued on in Queen *Elizabeths* Days, and ever ſince, it is derived from thoſe who were rightly ordained in King

King *Edward*'s Reign, and ſurvived Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution, which were enough to make up the full Canonical number. The Writ by which Arch-biſhop *Parker* was conſecrated, was directed to ſeven lawful Biſhops, four whereof did joyn in his Ordination; and I may truly ſay, they were the major part, if not the only Legal and Canonical Biſhops of the Church of *England* then alive, that did not conform, and the like number were preſent, and ſometimes more, in moſt Ordinations of Biſhops ever ſince; and as for thoſe Popiſh Biſhops that were put out in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, they were put in before by Queen *Mary*, and never had any Canonical Right, being made without the Conſent of the * *Metropolitanes*, Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, and *Holgate*, and the major part of the Biſhops (as the Canons do require) who were either murdered or violently thruſt out, and Queen *Elizabeth* has as good Authority to

When Arch-biſhop *Parker* was conſecrated, there were only five of the Canonical Biſhops that were in Poſſeſſion of Biſhopricks at the Death of K. *Edw* 6. then alive; four of theſe conſecrated the Reformation, and three of them actually laid hands on Arch-biſhop *Parker*.

Concil. Nicen. Canon. 6. If any be made Biſhops without the Conſent of the *Metropolitane*, the great Synod does define, ſuch a one ought not to be a Biſhop. *Con. Antioch. c.* 9. & 19. *con. Carth.* 2. *c.* 12. *Jun. Papa ep.* 2. *c.* 1. and many other Popes and Councils.

remove them, as her Siſter had to put them in, when they had no Right but by an unjuſt Law, which a better Law could take away; to ſay nothing, that ſhe had upon many other Accounts a great deal of Reaſon to lay them aſide.

Object. When our Adverſaries are driven from all theſe Objections againſt the Soundneſs of our Church, ſome of them will confeſs there is a Face of the ancient Orders and Tradition of the Catholick Church in our publick Laws and Conſtitutions; but when they come to diſcourſe with men of our Communion, and obſerve their Practice, they do not ſeem to own what their Religion does preſcribe.

Anſw. I do not perſwade men to follow the Examples of our Members, but the Laws of the Church, *Vivitur legibus non exemplis.* There would be no end of ſuch Complaints, if we ſhould be thus ſcandalized at all ignorant and diſaffected People that lurk in the Church. I need not inſiſt longer on this matter; the Papiſts do well know the infinite Faults of thoſe in the Church of *Rome*, on theſe Accounts, what wicked Lives, Varieties of Opinions, and ſe-

vere

vere Conflicts there are amongſt them, notwithſtanding all their Boaſt of Holineſs, and glory of Unity. If we have but good Laws and Rules, let us carefully obſerve them, and as for the Irregular Practice and evil Conſtructions of wicked men, which we nor no Church in the World can ever help, they will never riſe up in Judgment againſt us, but to be ſure they can never excuſe us from doing of our Duty.

Object. But perhaps at length it will be granted by many, that indeed the Succeſſion of our Biſhops is regular and valid, the Orders of our Church are pious and ancient, and the Form of our Service is decent and holy; but yet ſtill our Church is Schiſmatical, becauſe we did depart from our Obedience to ſeveral Weſtern Synods, which were ſuperiour to us, or at leaſt did ſeparate from all the viſible Church that was then upon Earth; and caſt off ſuch things, wherein both Eaſt and Weſt did agree, which cannot be without Schiſm and Violation of the Churches Unity. And this is the Summe of all that is ſaid by the Author of the Guide in Controverſie againſt the Church of *England.*

Anſw. I will give an Anſwer in his own Words to the like Objection, which he ſuppoſes to be made againſt the Church of *Rome*; *Diſc.* 3. *c.* 8. *Sect.* 85. *n.* 5. [*To the Greek Churches their Agreeing in ſome things with Proteſtants againſt the Church of* Rome, *as in others with the* Roman *Church againſt Proteſtants, from which it ſeems to follow that the Church of* Rome *muſt as well be culpable of Schiſm, or any other Crimes, in what the Greeks and Proteſtants differ from it, as the Proteſtants in what the* Greek *and the* Roman *Accord in againſt it: I anſwer, ſays he, that any Churches Coordinate may without Schiſm or Fault differ from one another, or one of them from all the reſt, in ſeveral Doctrines and Opinions, if ſuch Opinions or Doctrines be not defined, or the Practice of them not required by any their Superiours.*] From whence we ſubſume; ſince none of theſe things wherein we differ either from the *Greek* or *Roman* Churches wherein both agree againſt us, are defined by any of our Superiours, we may then differ from them about theſe Matters, without any Schiſm or Fault. Now that they are not defined by any of

of our Superiours, is plain; for there is no Decree about them in any of the ſix General Councils, and as for patriarchal Councils, I ſaid before, the Church knows no ſuch Authority, (neither are there any patriarchal Councils, wherein both Eaſt and Weſt do agree, that we contradict or diſobey) but by the Canons of the General Councils and the Tradition of the Church, and the Acknowledgment of many ancient Popes, all provincial Churches are made coordinate, and ſo the Practice of other Churches in theſe matters cannot at all concern us, by his own Confeſſion.

Obj. But yet ſtill ſome will ſay, there is that outward face of Religion, thoſe excellent Helps and Motives to Piety, that exact Order and Diſcipline in the Church of *Rome*, and that exemplary Holineſs and Mortification in the Lives of the Regulars and Monaſticks, that nothing could ſtir up men of Conſcience, either to caſt off, or to continue out of that Communion, but he that is the Enemy of all Righteouſneſs.

Anſw. That there are ſome Remains of that antient Piety and Order that the Church of *Rome* has been taught by

by her Religious Fore-fathers, that lived in the purer times of Christianity, still left amongst them, I do not at all question; neither do I doubt, but that there may be many pious and devout Souls, even now, in that Communion, that know nothing of the wicked Arts of that Church, or rather Church-men, and Court of *Rome*; though they are deeply blinded with Superstition.

But, as for that face of Religion, that excellent Order, and exemplary Piety they boast of, I wish they were more than they are: 'tis the Abuse of all these to cover over wicked and enormous Crimes, not any Acts of Piety and Order, that have been taken away. For, where there is a more pompous Shew, there is not alwayes more real Devotion; a painted outside may be full of rottenness and corruption. We must not onely look at the Furtherances, but the Inconveniences likewise that attend them; the Church of *Rome* may have more Ceremony, but, I hope, we are not behind them in the Substance, nor wanting of any Decency in Religion; they may be more Formal and Circumstantial, but I am sure our Church does give us opportunity to be much more Holy

Holy and Sincere in the worſhip of God.

We have not the Scandal of private Maſſes daily in our Church; but we have our Weekly, Monthly, and other more Solemn Communions, better frequented than they.

We have not ſo many Publick hours of Prayer; but our Devotion is better performed; it being directed to God onely, and not to Creatures, and in a Language that is underſtood; whereby it is more apt to ſtir up Peoples Affections and Intentions, than theirs, which is in an unknown Tongue; ſo their Hearts cannot go along with their Mouthes.

We have not ſeveral Orders of *Monks* and *Nuns*; but we do as truly honour true Religious Celibacy, and Virgin purity, where-ever we have reaſon to believe it.

As we have not the Obligation of a Vow, to hold up thoſe that are wavering and unconſtant, ſo we have not that Snare to entangle thoſe that are weak and unable to keep it; and 'tis better not to vow at all, than to vow and not to perform it when we have done.

If

If we want the Defence of Monasteries, for those that are exposed to Dangers and Temptations; we are without such barbarous Prisons, which shut Persons out from those means which are necessary for an honest Life. Persons may be chaste that live abroad in the World, and they may highly offend by Luxury, though they are all their Lives shut up in a Cloyster. We are not to consider, what may be best for some particular Persons, but what is best for the Community; for, to take into their Monasteries (as they do) Persons of all Ages, after sixteen, all Sexes, Humours, Tempers, and Conditions, and absolutely to constrain them to endure more than they are able, with a pure mind, cannot be for the Advancement of Piety, but is a great Cruelty, (as 'tis managed) and hindrance of a good Life.

'Tis true, Confession of Sins to the Priests, and taking their Advice, is not so common amongst us; neither do we promise such easie Pardons, nor dare give Absolution to People that live in habitual Wickedness, till they give some evident sign (more than words) of Repentance, and Amendment of Life.

But

But no Body that comes to the Priest for his Directions, does want the Assistance of his sober Advice, and all other Benefits that Christ has given him to bestow. For the Church does command Priests to absolve truly Penitent Sinners, in these Words: *Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left Power to his Church to Absolve all Sinners, who truly repent, and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine Offences: And by his Authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Amen. See the Office for the Visitation of the Sick.

We do not worship Saints, nor offer up Prayers to them, but we honour their Memories, celebrate their Festivals, bless God for their Vertues, and pray unto him to enable us to imitate their holy Examples.

We do not pray for Deliverance of Souls out of Purgatory; but we do not fail to express our Charity towards them that are dead, and in these words: [*We bless thy Holy Name for all thy Servants departed this Life in thy Faith and Fear, beseeching thee to give us Grace so to follow their good Examples, that with them we may be par-* Prayer for the Holy Catholick Church.

partakers of thy Heavenly Kingdom.] And in the Office of Burial, we further ſay, [*beſeeching thee, that it may pleaſe thee of thy gracious goodneſs ſhortly to accompliſh the number of thy Elect, and to haſten thy Kingdome, that we, with all thoſe that are departed in the true Faith of thy Holy Name, may have our perfect Conſummation and Bliſs both in Body and Soul in thy Eternal and Everlaſting Glory.*]

So that whatſoever Acts of Piety, or Charity, or helps to Devotion the Church of *Rome* can boaſt of, they are all to be had in the Church of *England*. In the Reformation we did but pare off the Superſtitions and Abuſes which had been brought in by Intereſt and Negligence; but all the ſubſtantial and neceſſary parts of Religion, and the real Advantages of a Holy Life, are ſtill preſerved amongſt us.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Secular Ends the Grounds of Popery.

AND now I have anſwered all the Objections I could think of, that are rationally made againſt the Church of *England*; and alſo ſhewn, that all thoſe further Helps to Piety, which are talked of in the Schools, may be better obſerved in our Communion than they can in the Church of *Rome*, as matters are now ordered: I will a little ſpeak concerning the Points in Difference between us and them; and endeavour to make it appear, they chiefly are maintained upon ſecular Ends, but cannot be of any real Advantage to the Good of the Church.

1. For the Popes Supremacy, take it in its largeſt Extent, as it is maintained by the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome*; (as many learned Writers of their own do not ſtick to call *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, and the like Champions of that See) and then it will be condemned by many of that Communion, as a great and intolerable Errour. And if we ſhould further inquire of them, what this Supremacy

macy is, that they own they could not be able to tell us wherein it does consist; nay, by the Rules they lay down in other Matters, it must be nothing at all but a meer name. For,

1. First, Determinations, not only of Popes, but of Councils likewise, are held not binding, unless they be declared to be Articles of Faith; for they reckon in all other Opinions and Canons, the Council may err; or if it does not, yet the Laws do not oblige, till they are received by the several Churches. Thus the *French* insist upon their *Gallicane* Liberties, and thereupon reject many parts of the Council of *Trent*. And other Churches likewise, have their Privileges and Rights which they lay Claim to, whereby they can reject new Papal Canons and Decrees. So that this Opinion of the Pope's Supremacy, being no where determined by any General Council, to be a Point of Faith, I do not see, but by their own Rule, they may be good Christians that deny it. For, though it be the Opinion of the Pope and Court of *Rome*, though it be commanded by the Canon Law; so is the Doctrine of Deposing Heretical Kings; and yet some of them say, they

they are not at all obliged to believe any ſuch Doctrine, but ought to account the Practice wicked, and againſt the Word of God; and ſo may the Popes Authority be likewiſe, for any thing that does appear to the contrary in any Definition of the Church.

2 As for other matters that concern Juriſdiction, and the Government of the Church, they are ſo reſerved and bounded by the Canons of General Councils, and ſo abſolutely confined within the Limits of each Province, that there can be no poſſible Uſe of any of the Popes Authority; but whatever is practiſed in that kind, is contrary both to the Order and Laws of the Church.

3 Therefore, to ſay the Popes Authority is by divine Right neceſſary to make the Decrees of a General Council, concerning Matters of Faith, *&c.* firm and undoubted; is a thing excluded by the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and innumerable of the moſt eminent Divines in the Church of *Rome*, which hold, that a Council is above a Pope. Beſides, 'tis an Aſſertion plainly refuted by the fourth and fifth General Councils, whoſe Decrees did obtain, and were

received as their Acts contrary to the Mind and Will of the Popes, neither has it the leaſt Colour and Foundation in the Churches Tradition, but 'tis merely an Invention of ſome in theſe two or three laſt Centuries. Therefore I may conclude, the Popes Supremacy is of no Uſe or Benefit, but to the great Detriment of the Church; and 'tis ſecular Intereſt, and the Craft of the *Italians* that chiefly holds it up, thereby to keep the Dominion of the World in their hands, to enrich themſelves with the Treaſures of all Kingdomes and the Spoiles of the Church, which by innumerable Arts they gather into their Coffers; and though that be the great and main Hinge, yet they have by long Continuance fixed ſuch an Opinion into the minds of the People, and made ſuch a neceſſary Dependance of ſo many other Intereſts upon this Principle, that they will be much prejudiced in their temporal Concerns by any ſuddain Alteration, and even Kings and Princes of that Perſwaſion find many difficulties to diſſolve ſuch a Powerful Confederacy, and perhaps know how to make Uſe of it for their advantage, as well as others that flouriſh thereby.

Of

Of the Exemption of Regulars.

As a politick means to ſecure the Pope's Intereſt in all Countreys, the Monaſteries are generally Exempt from the Biſhops Juriſdiction, and immediately depend upon their proper Governours, whoſe Superiours live at *Rome*, and are reſponſible onely to the Pope, and not to the Biſhops. Now theſe Societies owing all their Privileges to the Pope's Authority, his Intereſt and theirs are joyned together; ſo that if the Pope's Power be diminiſhed, their Privileges will not endure long after. Whereupon it falls out, that if at any time the Biſhops have any Inclination vigorouſly to aſſert their Antient Right and Authority againſt the Pope, he preſently has ſo many of his Regulars in all Kingdomes and Countreys, who, by their outward face of Piety, gain Reputation with the Vulgar, and ſo are able to ſtir up Sedition amongſt the People, and awe the Biſhops into their former ſlavery.

Of Image-worſhip, and Invocation of Saints.

There being ſuch a manifeſt Advantage in the multitude of Regulars, that hold their dependance on the Pope, there muſt be wayes found out to maintain them; and that in ſuch a plentiful condition, that they may not Mutiny againſt their Superiours, which cannot be without a vaſt Treaſure; and to Exact this by Force, would diſcourage all Induſtry, and raiſe a Sedition amongſt the People. Therefore they have found out a way to cheat men of their Money, yet in ſuch a manner, as that they think they have a ſufficient Recompence for all their Gifts: which is, by Erecting of Shrines, and Images, and Invoking of Saints before them; which things are managed with ſuch Art and Contrivance, that there is ſcarce any conſiderable Event that happens, whether Good or Bad, Publick or Private, but the People are made to believe it is owing to the Kindneſs or Diſpleaſure of ſome Saint or other. If it be good it is preſently aſcribed to the Devotion, and rich Offerings that were made; If it

it be Evil, to the Neglect that is ſhewed, in not honouring Religious Places with their choiceſt Gifts and Preſents. In the mean time, the Provocation of God by their Sins is overlook't, or at leaſt, they think it is expiated by the Interceſſion of the Saint.

Add to this, many feigned Miracles, that are pretended to be done at theſe Images, to draw the greater numbers to the Place, and to beget an higher opinion of the Saint's forwardneſs to give Aſſiſtance to all his Votaries.

Of Purgatory and Indulgences.

As by their Images, and Invocation of Saints, they make a Revenue from the Living, ſo, by the opinion of Purgatory and Indulgences, they gather great Advantages from the Dead. Beſides, in the former they more ſeek for Temporal Favours and Deliverances in this Life; but here they hope for Expiation of Sins, and Redemption from Pains in the other World. I know very well, that Almes deliver from Death, and Charity will cover a multitude of Sins; but that the *opus operatum*, of Giving ſo much money to ſuch a Mona-

ſtery, or having ſo many years of Indulgence granted by the Pope, will certainly procure ſuch Relief, is meerly a Politick Invention. But, being once received, muſt needs bring in vaſt Treaſures to the Church. 'Tis ſo much eaſier to part with a Sum of Money, than it is to live a holy and a vertuous Life.

Of Attrition.

Becauſe all ſuch Indulgences do not abſolutely procure Pardon, without ſome Diſpoſition in the Subject to make him capable to receive it, there is another Opinion that directs men to an eaſie method of being rightly prepared for ſuch Benefits, which is conſequent upon the Doctrine of Attrition, wherein they teach, That if any Sinner, upon conſideration of the turpitude of the Sin, and the danger it will bring upon him, both in this World and the World to come, does thereupon go and Confeſs to a Prieſt, and ſo far manage the matter, as to obtain his Abſolution, then the Attrition is turn'd into Contrition, by that Act, and then the Perſon is rightly qualified for theſe Indulgences, and with ſome Maſſes and Oblations, is ſtraightway ſent ſafe to Heaven.

And

And what a flood of Wickedneſs and Impiety is let in at this breach of the Churches Order, in giving aſſurance of Forgiveneſs on ſuch eaſie terms, I cannot, without horrour and amazement, call to mind. Perſons, upon this Encouragement, live in all Luxury and Villany, and preſume they can wipe off all in an hours converſation with a Prieſt. I know indeed Chriſtianity does teach us, that God will never reject any true and ſincere Penitent, at any time of his Life; but from thence to flatter men, that upon Confeſſion to a Prieſt, with ſome kind of Sorrow, and his Abſolution thereupon, a truly Divine Love, implied in every act of Contrition, is preſently wrought in the Soul, is the greateſt Maſſacre of Souls that was ever committed in the World. And yet this eaſie way of Soothing up Perſons in their Sins, and Lulling them into a groundleſs preſumption, is that which gains them ſo many wanton Proſelytes, and keeps the looſer and prophaner People ſo faſt to their Intereſt.

Of Prayers in an unknown Tongue, and Forbidding the Laity to read the Scriptures.

As the Impoſing the *Roman* Language upon theſe Weſtern Countreys, and other Places of the World, is a great Mark of their Dominion and Conqueſt, over all thoſe that admitted it; ſo this keeping their Devotions, and the Rule of God's Word locked up from the Underſtanding of the People, is a great means to continue them in Ignorance, and ſo to hide all the former Policies from their Eyes, and by that means to hold them in their Superſtition, and Devotion to their Party. Perhaps this Blindneſs may ſerve to keep them in Slavery and Obedience to ſuch a feigned contrivance of Religion as they have made; but certainly, the lively Oracles of God clearly laid open before us, and a Devotion reaſonable, and ſuch as we can underſtand, muſt be much more conducing to Piety, and make men more zealous and conſtant in the true Worſhip of God.

Their Forbidding to read any Books, or hear any Diſcourſes, that may undeceive them.

But, leſt all thoſe fore-mentioned Devices ſhould not prove effectual, to hold People in their Superſtition, they have another Tyrannical Maxim, That they muſt read no Books, nor enter into any Diſcourſe, but by the leave of their Prieſts. And by this means they ſhut them out from all poſſibility of better Information.

That People ought to give great deference to the Advice of thoſe Inſtructors that God has ſet over them, is very Rational and Good: But, that in ſuch a divided and broken State of *Chriſtendom* as we are under, People ſhould give themſelves wholly to be lead by the Authority of one Party, and believe every thing true and unqueſtionable, which they propoſe to them, without further Search or Enquiry, is a thing contrary to all Prudence, Reaſon, and Religion.

Of their Murthering and Deſtroying Hereticks.

But becauſe many are of a more ingenuous Temper, than to be thus Hood-

hood-winck'd and enſlaved to blind Obedience and Belief of one Party, and therefore will candidly ſearch into the Truth, and embrace it wherever they find it. Therefore thoſe that they cannot by thoſe former Articles and Policies ſeduce into their Communion, they will by this unchriſtian Method of Violence compell into their Church: So that thoſe whom Love and Arguments cannot oblige, Fear and Threatnings faſten to their Obedience.

God forbid that I ſhould charge this Impiety upon all of that Church; I know there are Deceivers and deceived. But yet any rational man may ſee, that thoſe matters wherein they differ from us, are mere politick Engines to maintain an unjuſt Dominion, which the Pride of the *Italians* firſt ſet up, and their Craft hath ever ſince upheld, to the great Confuſion of *Chriſtendom*, and the Extinguiſhing of Piety, and good Order in the Church.

Let all of the *Roman* Communion conſider therefore ſeriouſly, how all *Chriſtendom* does ſuffer in their Bodies, Minds and Eſtates, upon the account of theſe Differences in Religion. That the Pope and Court of *Rome* have notoriouſly

toriouſly uſurp'd upon all Kingdoms is evident by the manifold Prohibitions and Cautions they have made againſt their Incroachments in times of Popery.

But their Attempts are like the Sea, which if it be repulſed, nevertheleſs it continually labours and rages; and many times with the greater Violence, and upon the leaſt yielding, breaks in with a Deluge, and carries all with the Strength of its Waves.

That moſt of theſe Corruptions were to the high Detriment of Religion, was ſeen and repreſented by many learned men in the Church of *Rome*, before the Reformation; and that many, if not all of them, would have been reformed in the Council of *Trent*, had the Biſhops been left to their juſt Freedom, is beyond all Doubt by the Hiſtories thereof.

That they are now Points neceſſary to Salvation, may indeed be ſaid by the Prieſts and zealous Promoters of that Faction; but it does not appear to be ſo by any Act or Decree of the Church of *Rome*, and I know they are not thought ſo, by many learned men of their own Communion. Moreover I have

have proved them to be Novelties, brought in for Secular Ends, and contrary to the general Chriſtian Rule, and even that meaſure of Truth, which is ſet down by the Council of *Trent*.

Remember then, We all ſerve one God, we profeſs one Rule of his Worſhip, the Holy Scriptures interpreted by the Catholick Church, and we muſt all give an Account how we have obſerved it. I have here calmly ſhewed how the Church of *England* hath followed this Rule; and how you (in thoſe things ſhe differs from you) have departed from it; and that Politick Intereſt has led you out of the way. Do not therefore think, that Neglect and Scorn will juſtifie you at the day of Judgment. Neither that, if you can take advantage at any Slip or Overſight in what I, or other men have written, that will excuſe your Separation, and Oppoſition to the Church of *England*. It is the Catholick Unity you oppoſe, in oppoſing Her; and that will riſe up in Judgment againſt you. You may, perhaps, find ſome Flaw in particular Writers, and I will not exempt my ſelf from Miſtake; but this

this I declare to you, That if I have ſaid any thing contrary to the Catholick Church, or the Church of *England*, I will never go about to juſtifie it; But if I have ſpoken any truth which you have deſpiſed, it ſhall not go for nought. But let this ſtick upon you, as a certain truth, You have oppoſed both God and his Church, while you have oppoſed and ſeparated from the Church of *England*; and you muſt juſtifie your ſelves againſt her Laws and Decrees, or elſe you can never prove your ſelves Innocent; which, I know, you never yet did, nor are able ever to do. And therefore all the Troubles and Confuſions of the Church of *England*, will lye more or leſs at your doors; and even the Diviſion of Chriſtendom will be owing to that Church, of which you glory to be Members.

I will not ſay how far each particular Perſon is guilty in this Matter: I muſt leave that to God and their own Souls. But certainly, the Overthrow of the Church of *England* will never be a means to bring the Court of *Rome* to Moderation; nor is it a likely way to redreſs many Abuſes,

ſes and Corruptions, which, I know, many underſtanding Perſons are ſenſible of in the Church of *Rome*; but will rather give occaſion to increaſe their Tyranny, and make them grow more careleſs and inſolent than ever.

Whoſoever they be therefore, that ſhall go about to deſtroy our Reformation, they will be found Enemies to God, to the Peace of his Church, and to the Purity of his Worſhip, which would be much polluted by ſuch a Victory.

That I may come a little nearer to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. Since we do profeſs all the Creeds which the Catholick Church ever has received, and the ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the two Sacraments; and thoſe other Holy Ordinances of Confirmation, Repentance, Ordination and Matrimony, (though not under the Notion of proper Sacraments) are owned and obſerved by us, as they were wont to be accounted of in the Church; and we have a Publick Liturgy, ſo pious and full, that they can juſtly charge it with no Errour, or material Defect, and even ſuch a one as thoſe of their Communion did joyn in, for eleven years together, in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and

and might have done ſo ſtill, if the Pope had not forbid them: Hence it does follow, there was no Exception made to the Matter of the Service, or the validity of the Prieſthood, therefore the ſingle Point upon which they muſt juſtifie their Separation from the Church of *England*, muſt be only the pretended Authority of the Pope. Now when the Canons of the Church, neither ſuppoſe he has any ſuch Power or give it him, but ſhut it out, and require all Chriſtians to obey their own Biſhops and Provincial Synods, and four parts of five of the Chriſtian World do now and ever did oppoſe this Invaſion, and count it Schiſmatical; and when it has been made Uſe of to murder Princes, to ſtirr up Rebellions, authorize Maſſacres, they will find little Comfort and leſs Safety to oppoſe their proper Biſhops upon ſuch a Pretence, and let the Hopes of their Salvation reſt upon ſuch a groundleſs Belief.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

Offered to

STATES-MEN,

And those that are concerned in the *Government*, as far as it relates to *RELIGION.*

IT is not my Design to go out of my Profession, nor to meddle with any other Matters than what concern Religion. Neither do I propose any new Models therein, or any Alteration or Change of the present Constitutions; but only offer Considerations, how to secure that Excellent Church, and that Pure and Primitive Worship of God, which, by the Piety of our Ancestors, was first settled amongst us, and has hitherto been maintained by your Swords and Counsels, as well as just Laws and Punishments.

Now, besides the Indignation of God, which the Neglect of his true Worship and Service will bring down upon a Nation, 'tis found by experience, That Seditions upon account of Religion, have ever proved most dangerous and Fa-

fatal to the Government; and it is impoſſible for any wealthy Kingdom long to enjoy Quiet, where Factions and Innovations in Religion are not ſuppreſſed and diſcountenanced, or ſo diſcouraged, that they can never make any parties ſtrong enough to cauſe any Tumult at home, or become ſo conſiderable, as to let in a mighty Force from abroad.

And that the Concerns of Religion and civil Peace, are nearly conjoyned, is obſerved very well by the Heathens; I will name but two; *Curtius*, who tells us, *nulla res multitudinem efficaciùs regit, quàm ſuperſtitio*: *That nothing does ſo effectually govern a Multitude as Superſtition*; which he there puts for Religion in General, be it true or falſe. But ſurely, if it be true, and carries the Bleſſing of God along with it, it will be much more conducing to the publick Good. And *Tully*, that Maſter of Eloquence and Politicks amongſt the *Romans*, informs us of the Power of Religion, and what Courſe is the ſafeſt to retain all men in the due Obedience and Veneration thereof; which is, by Avoiding Novelty and Alteration, as much as 't is poſſible: his Words are theſe, *Omnes* *Curtius lib. 4.*

Cicero in Verrem. *religione moventur, & Deos Patrios, quos à majoribus acceperunt colendos, sibi diligenter & retinendos arbitrantur*; 'all men are 'moved with Religion, and think that 'they ought to retain and diligently to 'worship those Gods which they receiv'ed from their Ancestors.

The same Parity of Reason does oblige Christians who believe but one God, to worship him in that manner in which all along from ancient times he was worshipped by their religious and devout Forefathers in the Church.

And as this is the Command of God, so 'tis the Profession of almost all Christian Societies in the World, as I have shewed in the foregoing Discourse; wherein I have made it appear, that both the Factions with which the Church of *England* has been forced to contend, have departed from this Rule, and therefore wanting Reason and Arguments to defend their Cause, were forced to fly to Violence and Cruelty to do it; so that it will be ill trusting to their Kindness. Neither will it be safe wholly to rely upon Force and Strength to subdue them; they are masters of Insinuation as well as treachery, and will secretly undermine where they cannot openly resist. Any

Any Kingdom that supports it self by Fear only, must necessarily exercise all arbitrary Cruelty, or else it can never long continue; much less can a Christian Kingdom ever hope to preserve it self, unless it has Soundness of Faith, as well as just Authority and Power to protect it. For a little while men may be deceived, but when they come to consider things out of Passion, nothing but solid Truth will satisfie and convince Persons of Sobriety and Understanding, so that as it is the Concern for the publick Quiet, to take Care for the Settlement of Religion; so it will be your Wisdom to see that your Religion be such, as may induce men by its Goodness, as well as your Authority.

Now every thing that is new, is therefore suspected by every Body; and wise men know, it must needs be false; because Religion is not a matter of humane Invention, nor brought in by the Will of man; but a Revelation sent from Heaven, published by Christ and his Apostles, and all along taught and believed in the Church before our times. So that for the right Understanding thereof, we must have Recourse to antient Writings, and learn from them, what has been ever believed in the Church.

For if Precedents be of such Authority in all other matters, the ancient Precedents of the Church, which carry things up to the primitive Pattern, will, with men that weigh things rightly and impartially, be of like moment in Religion. And still every Sect does boast, that theirs is the most ancient Doctrine, and do as confidently accuse all others of Novelty; which is a Demonstration, that Antiquity in Religion is the common Principle which all by Nature, as well as Reason, are inclined to follow.

I hope no body will be so fooliſh as to think, that the Authority of Religion does rely barely upon Antiquity; and thence urge, that the Jewiſh and the Pagan Religion, muſt be moſt ſound, becauſe ancienter than the Coming of Chriſt.

The force of the Argument drawn from Antiquity and Univerſality, lyes in this, That it is moſt probable, that thoſe that lived neareſt the Fountain-head, when the Impreſſions of the Apoſtles Examples and Doctrine were more lively upon mens minds, could better underſtand their Meaning, than we at this Diſtrance; and it is altogether

ther as likely, that That Sense of their Writings, which has been universally received in the Church, is the true Interpretation of the mind of God, since he has sworn, *He will never be wroth with her, nor rebuke her.* Isa. 54. 9.

This therefore must be the Interest in General, of every Christian Kingdom and Society to observe; and if they cannot bring all their Subjects exactly to conform to this Rule, yet this ought to be such a fundamental Principle and Maxim to which they must always stick, and never yield to any Change from it; much less, make any Law to indulge and countenance the contrary Practice or Belief. All Demands of this Nature proceed from Faction and Sedition, and all Concessions are but so many Inducements to farther Insolencies, and higher Attempts.

Let any one read the bitter Complaints that are made by those two pious and learned Kings, King *James*, and King *Charles* the first, of the Mischiefs they found, by Experience, did arise from Yielding to such unquiet Spirits; and they will be fully convinced it is the worst Policy in the World, to think, by Changing reasonable and ancient Customs,

to reduce men to Obedience and Sobriety. For, when they once begin to exceed their Bounds, no body knows where they will ſtop, and 'tis the ready way to lye expoſed to perpetual Broyls and Importunities.

I ſpeak now to a Generation that have ſmarted twenty years under the Tyranny of men given to Change; and they know that all did end in Confuſion; and that will be the Conſequence again, if men can be ſo blind as to ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by the ſame Arts a ſecond time.

It has been hitherto the unhappineſs of our Nation, and the great hindrance of our Peace and Settlement, that Diſſenting Parties have had continual Expectations of a Change in Religion. And this has been the Policy of the Papiſts, and other Sectaries all along, to feed their Party with ſuch Hopes and Promiſes; wherein they gained two Ends:

Firſt, They did weaken the Intereſt and Stability of the Church.

Secondly, They did make way for the more eaſie compaſſing of their own Deſigns, by keeping their Diſciples firm to their Intereſt. And being both well aware,

aware, that the Security and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England* would be the ruin of both their Factions; they joyned Intereſts and Counſels to deſtroy her Power; and then both promiſed themſelves the Victory in dividing the Spoils. And ſo long as there is any poſſible hopes for a Change, ſo long we muſt endure the Miſchiefs of theſe turbulent Factions.

But if once the State were reſolved, inviolably to maintain the Religion now eſtabliſhed, and the Conſtitutions thereof were like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, unalterable, and all Diſſenters were diſcouraged from ever hoping to obtain their Ends, then they would think of Conforming to the Government; at leaſt, we ſhould have no occaſion to fear any Diſturbance that they would give us.

This being ſpoken in general, I come now to ſpeak more particularly to what relates to each Faction. And firſt, as to the Papiſts. There is no likelihood that the Government will be tempted to make any Laws of Indulgence, or to do any thing that may look like a tendency towards a Compliance with their Novelties. For the Religion which

they profess, is so linked to a Foreign Interest, that there can be no hopes of making any Composition with them, without giving our selves, and the whole Nation to be Vassals and Slaves to a Foreign Power, and without great danger to our Souls and Fortunes.

All the possible Deliberation about them, is, first to secure our selves, as much as we can, from their Tyranny, and then to take the most effectual course to bring over the Soberest of them to the obedience of the Church of *England*.

Now, since the chief Article whereby they are deluded, is a pretended Shew of Antiquity, and Conformity to the Primitive Church, which we have hitherto laid juster Claim to than they, and been defended by our able Divines therein: there can be no readier way in the World to gain them, than by Sticking close to this Principle, and urging them strongly with the Authority thereof.

And, because they will be backward to receive Information, Care must be taken that they be compelled, at least, to hear what their Supe-

Superiours have to allege for the Juſtneſs and Piety of their Commands

For, it is unreaſonable for men to diſobey Governours, and never ſo much as to take pains to know what it is they deſpiſe, and only to take meaſures from Adverſaries and Schiſmaticks like themſelves. But, if after all Endeavours they ſhall continue Obſtinate in their Schiſm, yet Care ought to be taken that their Children be baptized, and educated in the Eſtabliſhed Religion; and that thoſe that have Eſtates and Inheritances amongſt us, be not permitted to ſpend their younger dayes in Foreign Countreys, where they receive a Tincture, if not a full Complyance with a ſtrange Religion.

If theſe things were duely looked after, it is to be hoped, that the number of thoſe Recuſants would in ſome few years be much leſſened, if the Schiſm it ſelf were not wholly extinguiſhed.

And now I paſs on to the other Faction, that term themſelves the Proteſtant Diſſenters, where will be the greateſt temptation of Complyance, upon

upon account of our common Interest, and the Strength, that it is supposed we shall add to one another, for our mutual Defence against the Papists; and this Project is carried on with a great deal of plausibility by some, and received with an equal approbation and readiness by others.

And so much in general, we doubt not, is certain: That it is the Interest of our Church to strengthen it self what it can against the Papists, and to use all Lawful and Christian means, to help and defend all Sober Christians of the Reformed Religion in other Countreys. But this is the misfortune, that many that are zealous in this matter, place the greatest part, if not all their Religion, in running away from the Papists, as if their Duty consisted only in Negatives; now this is a great Shortness and Defect of Judgment. For though it be our Duty to avoid the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, yet we are likewise obliged to embrace the sound Orthodox Doctrine of the Gospel, and to study those things that make for the Peace and Unity of the Church. Therefore while our Zeal does carry us from one Errour, it ought not to hurry us

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headlong into another; we must not forego Truth and Peace, for Love of any Party or Interest whatsoever.

And first it is to be considered, whether it be for the Interests of other reformed Christians, that we should make any Change in our Constitution, that we may become more like them. No Body can think it reasonable, that a Church should alter her Laws merely to gratifie mens Humours, without some considerable Inducement or other. But what Argument can any one bring to shew any Necessity or Advantage in our Conforming to them? were their Reformations carried on more sedately, and with better Order than ours? No, that cannot be pretended; is their Platform more agreeable to the word of God, as it has been interpreted by the Church? That they will not say neither; or can they blame ours for departing from that Rule? No; they are so far from that, that they do give us the highest Praise, and Commendation for the best and purest Church in the World. But that which is of greatest Moment in this case, is this, it has been the common Principle of the reformed Christians, that they did not intend

tend to depart from the Catholick Church, but to reject the Errours of the Church of *Rome*, and her new Impoſitions. So that it will be Their Duty as well as Ours, to approve themſelves to God, by their Obedience and Conformity to his Church: and, if Neceſſity or Overſight has unhappily made them not altogether ſo regular as they ought to be, upon better conſideration they ought to mend the Defect, when they can. But both Duty and Prudence do's oblige us to continue as we are; and it has been the Deſire of the chiefeſt, and moſt Learned of the Reformed Divines, that they might become like us. Shall we then vary from the Antient Church, vary from our ſelves, vary from the Judgment of their moſt Eminent Divines, meerly for Humour and Fancy, without any Reaſon or Advantage, nay, contrary to both our Duties and Principles, which require us to Conform to the Antient Church? Beſides, ſhould we not hereby ſtrengthen the hands of our Adverſaries, the Papiſts? What do they deſire more than the Overthrow of our Government and Conſtitutions? Are not we the Objects of all their Envy and

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Malice? When do they plot and endeavour to destroy any others, as much as they do Us? and what is the reason they thus single Us out, for the common Mark against which they level their strongest Batteries, but that we are the greatest Bulwark of the Reformed Religion, and do most afflict and gall them in any Combats?

Again, we should scandalize many learned men amongst us, and perhaps cause others to desert our Communion; for none ever did or can question the Validity and Soundness of our Church, but many eminent Divines have wholly denyed the Regularity and Truth of their Orders, and blamed them for other Defects, though they may count it more their Infelicity than their Fault. But, if they should so far grow conceited of their own ways, as to require others to Conform to them, they would, it may be, disdain both them and their Religion. And in such a Case, where Episcopal Orders may be had, Bishop *Fern* says, *If any Presbyter should have heretofore presumed to Ordain within the Church of* England, *their Ordinations had deserved to be accounted no otherwise than void; And so, within every Church completed, and*

Bishop *Fern* against *Champney*. pag. 118.

and regularly formed, according to Apostolical Order, ought they to be accounted.

King *Charles* the First, in his first Paper to Mr. *Henderson*, goes higher: *Many inducements made me confident, that the Work* [of Reformation] *was perfect, as to Essentials; of which Church-government being undoubtedly one, I put no Question, but that would have been likewise altered, if there had been cause. Which Opinion of mine was soon turned into more than Confidence, when I perceived, in this particular, (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the Apostles, to be the constant Universal Custom of the Primitive Church, and that it was of such Consequence, as by the alteration of it we should deprive our selves of a Lawful Priesthood; and then how the Sacraments can be duely administred, is easie to judge. These are the principal Reasons that make me believe, that Bishops are necessary for a Church.*

Bishop *Andrews's* Answer to the third Epist. of *Petr. Moulin.*

I cannot omit the Setting down the Opinion of that Reverend, pious, and Learned man, Bishop *Andrews*, in this Matter: *I said, your Churches* [speaking of Episcopal Government] *did want something*

thing which is of Divine Right; but it was wanting, not by your Fault, but by the Injury of the Times; for your France *had not Kings so favourable to you in Reforming the Church, as our* Britain *had. In the mean while, when God shall give you a better state, this which is now wanting, by the Grace of God is to be supplied.* Then (speaking to Dr. *Moulin*) he adds, *But I did read no Clause more willingly than that last of your Profession:* "How de-"sirous you are of Concord, and how "much you did wish, that all Reform-"ed Churches whom the same Faith "does joyn together, might be joyned "together in the same Bond of Eccleſi-"astical Politie. *Which is one of the chiefest things amongst my Prayers; and for it I daily beseech Almighty God, that they may be joyned together in the same Form of Government, by the* Bond *of the same Politie; but of such a sort, which does fetch its Original from the very Infancy of the Church, from which the Venerable Antiquity of the first Ages derived theirs: which* [Form of Government] *whosoever opposeth, opposeth all Antiquity; which the Apostle* James *began in* Hierusalem: From whom, by a long Series, the Succession of Bishops is derived. Which

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[Antiquity] did condemn *Aerius*, [who made a *Presbyter* to be of the ſame Order with a *Biſhop*] becauſe he durſt oppoſe the Conſent of the Univerſal Church; which [Form of Government] all Churches every where did receive. Thus, this pious man, than whom, none did more lament the Churches Diviſions, and more earneſtly pray to God to heal them, nor any better underſtand wherein they did conſiſt, and by what means they were held up. And you ſee he reckons up this want of Epiſcopal Government, as a Defect he did chiefly beg of God might be ſupplied. And in the end of his Epiſtle, *Id cupio, ut Regimen Ordinemque non alium quàm quem nobis largitus eſt Deus nobis quoque largiatur, nempe Epiſcoporum, Presbyterorum, & Diaconorum*: and then concludes with St. *Auguſtine*'s Saying, *Aliud eſt quod docemus, aliud quod ſuſtinemus*. So that it ſeems, in his Opinion, the Want of Epiſcopal Government was a great hindrance to the progreſs of the Reformation. When therefore they muſt and do acknowledge our Orders to be good, and many doubt of theirs, it cannot be our Intereſt or Wiſdom, to drive away, or ſcan-

scandalize so many Sober men, and give such great advantage of Triumph to our Adversaries, who would rejoyce at nothing more.

Bishop *Sanderson*'s Preface to his Sermons.

"It is very well known, what rejoycing the Vote for putting down Episcopacy brought to the *Romish* Party, how in *Rome* it self they sang "*Io Pæan* upon tidings thereof, and said triumphingly, *The day is* "*ours*.

Secondly, It is to be considered, whether it be for our Interest here at home, to make any Change, to Gratifie, and take in Dissenters; and here the Politicians are mighty busie, and think they have a Triumphant Cause to manage: For, say they, when we are beset with so many Enemies on every hand, can it be our Interest to stand in Defiance with them all? would it not be much better to part with some Superfluities and Ceremonies, that we our selves cannot say are absolutely Necessary, that so we may strengthen our Party; than to make so many Adversaries, without any need at all?

I confess, if this Objection had been made by one that immediately dropt out of the Clouds, and was wholly unacquainted with our Affairs, it might seem to him to be of some Moment; but any that knows how far Dissenters have

been tryed by Kindneſs and Yielding, and reads but what King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt have writ againſt this Method of aſſuring them to your Friendſhip, will eaſily ſee, 'tis the ready way to Confuſion. For they never did, nor never can tell you, where they would ſtop, or what would content them; or, if ſome would tell you, that they would be ſatisfied if you would go ſo far with them, yet many more will tell you, that ſignifies nothing to Their ſatisfaction.

For, when they do not agree with one another, neither are conſtant to themſelves, there can be no hopes that any Conceſſions can bring them to Stability. Further, Would you comprehend them all, and take in *Independents*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Socinians*, *Pelagians*, &c? this would not be to comprehend, but to deſtroy the very Being of the Church. No, they would not go ſo far. But why muſt we gratifie ſome, and not all? would not the reſt complain of Partiality, and grow more enraged againſt us? and, how could we defend our ſelves, when we had departed from our Rule? our own Friends would begin to ſuſpect, and diſtruſt their

their Religion, or repine at those Governours.

But, for whom would we make this Change? for the *Presbyterians* only? Who, or what are they? there is scarce such a Generation of men, purely such, left in the World. Those of that Perswasion formerly, did cry out against Schism, write bitterly against Toleration, Condemn the wicked Practice of gathering Churches out of Churches; but now those that call themselves by that Name, do all these things. Must a Government turn up and down after this manner, and follow the Humour of the Times? Does Religion vary, as mens Interests change? Must God's Worship truckle under our Politicks? Atheists may talk at that rate, but Christians can never build upon such a moveable Foundation.

Besides, whom shall we gratifie in this Matter? The Gentry, and understanding part of the Nation, did not affect their way, when it was uppermost; all Scholars, and men of Ingenuity now know better things; neither the Wisdom nor the Interest of the Nation leads that way; but commonly the Vulgar, the ignorant, fanciful part of the People, that

diſcern little elſe but Noiſe and Clamour; and are affected more with Tone and Geſture, than they are with any real ſenſe of Truth, or love of Piety. And is it the way ever to bring them to Sobriety and Religion, by Indulging them in this Itch and Humour? We find the ſeveral Toſſings and Tumblings, and theſe Fanciful wayes of Cheating the People, have robbed them almoſt of all Faith and Honeſty. It muſt not be Frauds and Policies, but true ſolid Inſtruction that muſt bring them to the knowledge of God, and of their Duty. This Scrupuloſity that is pretended, is rather a Diſeaſe to be cured, than a real Diſſatisfaction to be yielded to; and can we hope to cure a Malady by Feeding it? They will be as Troubleſome in, as they are Uneaſie out of the Church, till they are healed of their Diſtemper. The Rule is one for all, and the Spiritual Food is good and wholſome; 'tis their Stomachs are out of order, and muſt be unloaded, if they cannot digeſt ſuch ſavoury meat. It has been often ſaid, if they could ſhew any thing Unlawful, or contrary to the Word of God, or the Churches Rules, then they ſhould

ſhould be changed. No, that they cannot ſhew, but yet, right or wrong, good or bad, they muſt be humoured; but I hope no Sober men will ever be of that mind.

Beſides, farther, in the preſent Circumſtances, it will be much worſe; for it would not be Receiving them to Favour, but to Triumph and Victory; for, ſince the Church and State both have been contending with them on theſe Points for above an hundred years, and endured the hardſhip of a long and tedious War, rather than part with their Laws and Religion; now in times of Peace to grant them theſe Demands, or to take away any Laws to comply with them, would be tacitly to confeſs, the Kingdom were in the Wrong, and we brought all that War and Miſery juſtly upon our own Heads; and would give Encouragement to all Rebels and Schiſmaticks ever hereafter, to hope for Succeſs by the like Confuſions. Nay, it would bring the Soundneſs of our other parts of Religion into queſtion amongſt many; unleſs therefore abſolute Neceſſity, or the expreſs Command

of God, did oblige us to it, it is contrary both to Policy and Conſcience, to make any Relaxation on this account. Offenders muſt yield, and ſubmit themſelves to their Superiours, but for the Government to ſtoop to Them, is the ready way to bring Authority into Contempt.

But when the Diſſenters ſee they cannot gain Relaxation for themſelves, they have thought on another Intereſt, which is, to invite Foreigners hither, to come and trade amongſt us, and ſo to fill our Kingdom with more People, and bring Honour and Wealth to our Nation by thoſe ingenious Arts they will promote amongſt us.

How far it may be for the Advantage of our Nation to invite Strangers to live and ſettle amongſt us, I will not diſpute; but ſurely, unleſs they will become good Subjects, and live peaceably amongſt us, it can never be for our Profit to admit them; and how can it ever enter into the head of any reaſonable man, that ingenious Artiſts, and men of Induſtry, that are only Merchants or Mechanicks, who have no other Deſign but Trade and Exerciſe of their Skill, ſhould ever ſcruple at

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our eſtabliſhed Religion? 'Tis Tranquillity and Settlement will invite them over ſooner than any other Motive; they do chiefly regard where they may live ſecure, and enjoy what they get, which is by keeping the Government ſteady, and diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing all tumultuous Spirits that have been the Cauſe of Diſorders and Confuſions amongſt us; for do we not by Experience find, upon any Miſunderſtanding or Rumour of a Change, there is ſtraightway a Stop put to Trade, Artiſts are ready to deſert us, Merchants transferr their Effects into other Countries? ſo that to think to invite Artiſts hither by changing our Laws, will be ſo far from the Obtaining the end, that it is the readieſt way to diſcourage them. What Force and Length of time may drive men to, I will not determine; but certainly, 'tis moſt evident, the better and wiſer part of the Kingdom will readily agree and conform to the preſent Conſtitutions; and I do believe, there would not be one in a hundred, that would diſſent, if it were but abſolutely required of them to conform, and then a little Pains would keep us for ever in that Order, which when other Na-

tions did ſee, they would think themſelves happy to be received amongſt us. But was there ever ſuch a Pretence made before? or was there ever the like Propoſal offered to States-men, that a Company of ingenious Artiſts, diligent and induſtrious in their way, and deſirous to advance their Fortunes in the World, ſhould be ſatisfied with our Faith, our Government, and the ſubſtantial Parts of our Religion, but they will deny themſelves all the Advantages of ſuch a flouriſhing Kingdom, becauſe the Miniſter wears a Surplice, and our Children in Baptiſm are ſigned with the Croſs, to teſtifie they are admitted to endure Troubles and Sufferings; and becauſe out of greater Devotion and Reverence to God, (it being the humbleſt Poſture) we kneel when we receive the bleſſed Sacrament? for, publick ſtated Prayers, foreign Churches have as well as we.

Beſides, can it be thought reaſonable that foreign Tradeſmen and Mechanicks ſhould preſcribe Models of Religion to all the Biſhops and Clergy of the Nation? or that ſuch a powerful Kingdom, & wealthy as this is, ſhould receive Laws from Inmates and Strangers? But laſtly, if

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they are men of Reaſon and Honeſty that we would invite to us, they will not be ſo ſcrupulous about Rites and Cuſtomes that in themſelves are indifferent; 'tis but the Humour only of ſome moroſe and factious Perſons, that never ſcarce look'd out of their own Doors, to quarrel at ſuch matters. People that underſtand the World, and the Faſhions of divers Countries, will be eaſilier induced to come to us when they ſee we regard what is Catholick and Ancient, than if we fondly grow conceited of our own Humours and Devices. But ſuppoſe we might make ſome temporal Advantage by ſuch a means; yet, ſo long as we enjoy Plenty of all things, ſhall we ſell Gods Bleſſing for a Meſs of Pottage? Are not the Honour of God, the Peace of the Church, and Settlement of the Nation to be preferred before a little Addition to our worldly Riches?

And now let me ſpeak to you as Gentlemen and Chriſtians, under which Characters you cannot but deſire the Honour of your Nation, and a ſafe Direction in your Religion. I know you are men of Reaſon and Judgment, and therefore cannot be ſatisfied with every

ry private Fancy, and ſpecious Pretence, but will ſeek after rational Grounds for your aſſurance in matters that concern your Salvation; and thoſe of you that are men of Learning, and have examined into the truth of theſe things, and know the Progreſs and State of Affairs in the Church, do eaſily ſee the weakneſs of any other Principle, beſides this of the general Interpretation of the Church, and to how many Hazards and Uncertainties Religion will lye open, if it be modelled at the pleaſure of the Pope, or left to the Interpretation of every private man, without any regard to the Churches Tradition.

But thoſe who are not skilled in Learned Arts, and have not ſpent their time to ſearch into Monuments of Antiquity themſelves, will be much more concerned to ſeek after ſuch a ſure Guide for their Direction. Now when men impartially conſider, what a little handful of People we have in this Kingdom in Compariſon of the reſt of the World, and even ſhut up in a little Corner of it, it cannot be for our Satisfaction to ſtand at Defiance with all mankind beſides, and think that we are the

the only People that ſerve God, and all others know nothing, are wholly alienated from his Worſhip. It will not eaſily ſink into mens minds, that in ſuch vaſt Kingdomes and Countries, where are Multitudes of great Learning and Skill, that theſe ſhould be generally ſo blind and miſled, as not to ſee what every Tradeſman and Artificer can underſtand amongſt us; or if you ſhould ſuppoſe ſuch a univerſal Corruption ſpread over the face of the preſent Church, yet it will ſeem very hard to Condemn moſt of the former Ages; it will ſeem very hard to ſay, we, in this Iſland, in this Age, are the only men of Reaſon, the only men of Conſcience, the only men of Learning and Judgment, and the onely men that ever diſcovered the true meaning of the Word of God.

But, if this be too arrogant to affirm, and it is likely that ſome others have had a ſenſe of Truth beſides our ſelves; how can we be better ſatisfied, than in embracing that Faith and Communion, which is of the largeſt Extent, both for Time and Place, and is not peculiar to us, or any other private Society, but Catholick and Univerſal, throughout all Soci-

Societies and Ages of the Church? so that whatsoever Country or Company you go into, if they ask an account of your Religion, you may safely say, 'Tis that which Christ and his Apostles taught, that by which the holy Martyrs went to Heaven in such great Crowds and Multitudes, that which all the Fathers wrote and disputed for, that which the General Councils have established, that which all Reformed Churches in the World do own and profess, and, what is farther for our Honour, free from those novel Errours and Superstitions which Modern times have brought into other Churches.

The *Roman* Church will condemn the *Greek* Church, and the *Greek* Church will condemn the *Roman*, and both will condemn the Reformed Churches in other Countries, and the Reformed Churches will be as forward to condemn them; but our Church is tempered with such Moderation, that all of them do and must confess our Faith and Worship is truly Primitive and Catholick. And if any one goes about to blame us in any particular, the other will be ready to justifie us in the same Point. Thus, if the Question be

be about the Popes Supremacy and Jurisdiction over us, the Greek and Reformed Churches will condemn Him, and acquit Us; if there be any Dispute between us and the Greek Church about the Veneration of Images, the Great Western Synod held at *Frankfort*, with many others to the same Purpose, in these parts, will clear us of any Fault.

If the Question be between us and the Reformed Christians about Episcopacy and Ordination, besides the ancient Church, and the present Greek and Roman Churches, many of their own most eminent Divines have given their Suffrage on our side; and as for those matters wherein we differ from the Greek and Roman Churches both together, they are not necessary, nor things always received in their Churches, but received in ancient times by those of their own Communion; at best they are not commanded by any General Council, or any publick Authority which by the Canons of the Church we are bound to obey. So that they are only By-Laws of their own, that concern not us; and whether they are good or bad they must answer for themselves.

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Can it then be for our Interest and Comfort, in times of Distraction to part with such a mighty Defence and Justification of our Church as this is? and by following private Humours and Fancies to despise all Authority and Judgment but our own? and expose our selves to the Contempt and Derision of our Adversaries, and give great Scandal to our Friends?

Hitherto our Church has been venerable to all good men, formidable to all bad, and irreproveable before all the World; and there remains nothing more to be done for the Satisfaction of all that are sober and rational, and the Confusion of all that are factious and ill minded, but that you inviolably maintain our present Articles and Constitutions, and take effectual Care that they be duely honoured and observed.

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CONSIDERATIONS TO ALL GOOD CHRISTIANS,

That love true Catholick Unity, and not the Abetting of *Factions*, or *Parties*.

WHAT Effect this Diſcourſe may have upon the World, I leave to Almighty God. And however the ſeveral Parties are enraged at it, I ſhall not be at all changed in my Affection, and hearty deſire to ſerve the Church of *England*; whoſe Communion and Worſhip I commend to all Chriſtian People, as the moſt pure, and the moſt tending to Piety, of any in the World. I know, moſt men are governed by Paſſion and Intereſt, and do not ſo much weigh the truth of things, as they do what may make moſt for their Advantage in this Life; but this is not the Chriſtian Rule, but the quite contrary: For our Saviour ſays, *If any one will be my Diſciple, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.* And we are Matt. 16. 24.

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every where commanded to prefer Faith and Charity before all the Enjoyments the World can afford. But it so falls out, that these are too much oppressed, and cryed down in the World; and, if a man be not so fierce as the hottest, he is presently suspected as a Person not sound in his Judgment, and a Favourer of the opposite Faction; but men of Sobriety and Reason, who know what a Reckoning we must one day make, *of every idle word we shall speak*, and therefore, much more, of every hard and uncharitable Censure, that we shall pass upon those that go by the name of Christians, without firm grounds and assurances; will not be carried about with every particular Rumour, and take the Cry of the multitude, for a good Warrant for us to hold them all Convicted, that are Condemned by no surer Judgment. And yet this is the great Delusion that the Devil puts upon Mankind, to hurry them on to condemn one another all in a lump, and in the dark, without any difference of Persons or Opinions. Now all Opinions that are Erroneous, are not alike Dangerous to Religion, neither are all those Opinions Errours, that some men think so;

Mat. 12. 36.

so; much less all men alike guilty, that own the same Opinions. St. *Augustine* distinguisheth very well between Hereticks, and *Hæreticis credentes*, between the Masters and the Disciples; those that simply believe amiss, and others that Impose their Opinions, and Persecute, and destroy all those that are not of their own Mind. *De utilitat. Credendi, &c. c.24.q.3.*

This being said in General, to discourage all good Christians from Rash, and too general Censures; Let us descend a little to consider, what an Honest man must think and do, in this divided and broken State of the Church.

And first of all, Since all Reformed Churches, that stand Established by any settled Authority, do own the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and for the Sense of them, do generally lay down the Interpretation of the Catholick Church, to be the Measure they will be ruled by; and not only so, but even do actually embrace all the Essential Faith contained in the Creeds, and all other Points absolutely Necessary to Salvation; therefore I do see no reason, but we ought to grant a possibility of Salvation to some in all these Communions, though they are guilty of

many lesser Errours and Defects. And thus much is said by the most Reverend Arch-bishop *Usher*, as well as many others, in his Sermon before the King, 1624. *It is well observed by a Learned man, who hath written a full Discourse of this Argument*, "That whatsoever the "Father of Lies either hath attempted, "or shall attempt, yet neither hath he "hitherto effected, nor shall ever bring "it to pass hereafter, That this Catho-"lick Doctrine, ratified by the com-"mon Consent of Christians, alwayes, "and every where, should be abolish-"ed; but that in the thickest mist (ra-"ther) of the most perplexed Troubles, "it still obtained Victory, both in the "Minds, and in the open Confession of "all Christians, no ways overturned in "the Foundation thereof: And that in "this Verity, that One Church of Christ "was preserved, in the midst of the "Tempests of the most cruel Winter, "or in the thickest darkness of her "Waining.

Joh. Serranus, *in apparat. ad Fid. Cath.*

Thus, if at this day we should take a Survey of the several Professions of Christianity, that have any large Spread in any part of the World (as of the Religion of the Roman *and the* Reformed *Churches in*

in our Quarters, and of the Egyptians *and* Ethiopians *in the South, of the* Græcians *and other* Chriſtians *in the Eaſtern Parts*) *and ſhould put by the Points wherein they did differ one from another, and gather into one Body the reſt of the Articles wherein they all did generally agree; we ſhould find, that in all thoſe Propoſitions, which, without all controverſie, are univerſally received in the whole Chriſtian World, ſo much Truth is contained, as, being joyned with holy Obedience, may be ſufficient to bring a man unto everlaſting Salvation. Neither have we cauſe to doubt, but that* as many as do walk according to this Rule, Gal. 6. 16. (*neither overthrowing that which they have builded, by ſuperinducing damnable Hereſies thereupon, nor otherwiſe vitiating their Holy Faith, with a lewd and wicked Converſation*) Peace ſhall be upon them, and upon the Iſrael of God. And Archbiſhop *Bramhal*, his Succeſſor, ſayes much to the ſame purpoſe: *We preſume not to Cenſure others to be out of the pale of the Church, we damn none for Diſſenting from us, we do not Separate from other Churches, unleſs they chaſe us away with their* Cenſures, *but onely from their* Errours; *for clear manifeſtation whereof, obſerve the thirtieth Canon of our Church.* *Juſt. Vindicat.* p. 156. *Synod.* 1603. *Can.*

"It was so far from the purpose of the "Church of *England*, to forsake and "reject the Churches of *Italy*, *France*, "*Spain*, *Germany*, or any such like "Churches, in all things which they "held and practised &c. that it only "departed from them in those particu-"lar Points, wherein they were fallen "from themselves, in their antient Inte-"tegrity, and from the Apostolical "Churches, which were their first "Founders. *So Moderate are we towards all Churches, whether Foreign or Domesticks, whether whole Churches, or single Persons.* And I do not question but there may be Devout Souls amongst these several Churches, that are sensible of these Calamities, and do mourn and grieve for them, and utterly detest all dividing Principles, and therefore in their Hearts and Desires do hold Communion with all sincere Christians, and pray for the External Peace and Union of the Church.

2. There are others, and, perhaps, those of greatest Eminence and Authority amongst these two Factions, of *Papists* and *Presbyterians*, That by reason of their Wicked, Schismatical, and Rebellious Principles and Practices, are no part

part of the Church, either Catholick or particular, where they live, but ought to be forſaken by all Chriſtian People, as Perſons wholly ſhut out from the Society of Chriſts Diſciples. And ſuch I take the Pope and Church of *Rome* to be, that maintain this Doctrine of Depoſing Kings, and Murdering all they call Hereticks; And the Ringleaders and principal Actors in the late Schiſm and Rebellion amongſt us, wherein they deſtroyed the King, and pull'd down the ſpiritual Paſtors and Governours; their wicked Profeſſions were manifeſt and deſtructive of Salvation, and ſo no good Chriſtian could hold any Communion with them, and the ſame muſt be ſaid of all thoſe that even now do profeſs and juſtifie ſuch Traiterous Rebellions, and Schiſmatical Principles.

It is the Duty of all Chriſtian 3
States and Churches to uſe all lawful Ways and Means to keep out the Popes Power and Dominion over them, and by reaſonable Penalties to endeavour to compell all their Subjects and Members to diſown and renounce all ſuch Juriſdiction.

For, Truth and Unity being the great Duties of Christianity both these are overthrown by the Usurpation of the Pope, and those indirect Courses which are necessary for the Support of such a wicked and tyrannical Schism; for if the Bishop of *Rome* were as orthodox in his Opinions as he ought to be, according to the Laws of the Church, yet he must contain himself within his own Limits; and if there be any new matter to be considered, he is but one, and is bound to submit to the Determination of the Whole. So that the Churches Authority is still good, whatever becomes of the Pope, and 'tis the Popes Fault that her Commands are not better observed; and if several Churches and States do own the Popes Authority, yet it is a thing in its self so contrary to the Peace and Order of the Church, that good Christians ought never to give their Assent, that any such Right does belong to him by the Law of God or of the Church.

4 Every Orthodox and good Christian ought to avoid all the other Errours and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, and other Churches, which are condemned in the Articles of the Church of

of *England*. I do not ſay, he muſt account them no parts of the Church, and deny them Chriſtian Communion, which hold any of thoſe Opinions; but the Opinions themſelves being Errours, we ought not to countenance them by our Practice, or aſſent to them in our Judgment; for though every Errour be not damnable, yet it is a Sin, at leaſt in its Meaſure, when it is pertinaciouſly defended; and therefore muſt be avoided by all thoſe that love the God of Truth.

All thoſe that withdraw from the Communion of the Church of *England* as it is now eſtabliſhed, whether they be Papiſts, or what other Sect ſoever, muſt be held formal Schiſmaticks; and ſo muſt thoſe that after Admonition do maintain and frequent Schiſmatical Conventicles, though they do at other times joyn with the Church. For it was ever accounted a high Breach of Chriſtian Charity to withdraw from the Communion of our Provincial Church, and to erect Altar againſt Altar, ſo long as that Church did keep in the Communion of the Catholick Church, as I have ſhewed our Church hath done.

We may communicate with thoſe of the Reformed, Greek, and Roman Church, if they profeſs the Faith, and ſincerely joyn in the Service of God, contained in our Common-Prayer, though they have private Errors which are contrary to ſome of our Articles. For it is evident, *De facto*, that the Papiſts did come to our Communion (and conſequently we admitted them) for eleven years together, at the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, till the Pope fearing he ſhould loſe all Dominion in *England*, if that were permitted, did formally prohibit them to joyn with us; So that the actual Separation that was made, was by the Command of the Pope, and not from any juſt Offence they did take at the Engliſh Reformation. So likewiſe thoſe of the Greek and Reformed Churches, are never refuſed our Communion ſo long as they profeſs the Catholick Faith and Worſhip: neither do we ſo much as inquire what their Opinions are in other matters, but only for our private Satisfaction. And this is enough to ſhew we are in Charity and hold Communion with all good Chriſtians (excepting as above excepted the fundamental Corruptions

ruptions of the Jeſuited part of the Roman and other Churches) throughout the World.

Though we do thus think charitably of many in other Churches, and do gladly receive them to our Communion, which is pure and Catholick, yet we muſt not joyn with them in, or approve of their Errors and Defects. Therefore if they would permit us to communicate with them in the Roman Church, without renouncing our own Communion (which I know their ſchiſmatical Pride will never allow them to do) yet whilſt their Errours and Superſtitions are mingled with their Service, we cannot joyn with them in the good things which they ſtill retain, but we muſt joyn with them in their Corruptions alſo, which is unlawful to do. 7

If any ſhall blame theſe Reſolutions of mine, as too raſh and ſingular, I doubt not but upon ſerious Conſiderations they will find them more Catholick, and grounded upon a firmer Foundation, than any they can ſhew to the contrary; for I intend to ſay nothing but what the main Body of Chriſtians have generally owned concerning theſe matters in all ages of the Church, and therefore do ſubmit all to the Catholick Church, and to the Church of *England*,

land, as it is now eſtabliſhed, and heartily exhort all good Chriſtians, to bleſs God for that ſincere Worſhip which is ſetled amongſt us; and moſt earneſtly to pray, that it may continue ſo to the end of the World, and that there may be a happy Union and Concord in the external Communion of all Churches, as well as there is in the internal Deſire and Affection of all Good People.

But, ſeeing this is ſuch a golden Age which we have little reaſon to hope for, therefore I have particularly deſcribed a good Chriſtians Duty, ſuppoſing the preſent ſtate of things; wherein I have ſo far vindicated the Church of *England*, as to ſhew, that ſhe is neither the Cauſe, nor does any way contribute to theſe Diviſions; and if all other Churches would obſerve the rule of the Catholick Church as much as ſhe has done, and keep the ſame Purity and Moderation, all Schiſms and Diſſenſions would preſently be at an end.

OF

OF THE Unreasonableness and Mischief OF TOLERATION.

CHAP. I.

I Am sensible, that all the fore-going Considerations will not perfect my Design, of shewing Christians a Rational, and Certain way to Unity; unless I add something, to shew the Unreasonableness of Toleration. For, though what I have said may Convince many Sober and Judicious men, of the Truth and Excellency of that Method which I have proposed for settling of Differences in Religion; and thereupon may perswade them, that the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* is most Catholick, and to be prefer'd before all others: Yet men that mind Politicks more than Religion, and carry on worldly Designs instead of Piety,

ety, will be ready to ſuggeſt, *That as long as men are men, they will have different Underſtandings, as well as divers Faces; and all will never agree in the ſame Notions and Belief; Therefore, as it will appear Cruelty to offer Violence to force their Conſciences, ſo it will be great diſſervice to the Publick to diſcourage ſo many Ingenious men, who may bring great advantage to the State by their Wealth and Induſtry. But, if the Civil Powers allow a Toleration, they may accommodate all Intereſts and Pretences. For thoſe that are perſwaded of the Catholick and Orthodox Conſtitution of the Church of* England, *beſides the ſatisfaction of their own minds, in the free Exerciſe thereof, they will have all thoſe Motives to urge, to induce all other men to their Communion; and for others that are not convinced thereby, they will have no reaſon to complain, ſince they are left to the free Exerciſe of their own Religion, and all may mutually joyn together to advance their Private Peace, and the Publick Good of the Nation, and never vex one another with Controverſies and Diſputes.*

But men who talk at this rate, fancy to themſelves golden Mountains, and do not rightly underſtand what Religion will allow in this kind, nor what is the

true

true Intereſt of the Publick, nor yet what the Tempers of men, that are acted by a Pretence of Religion, will ſubmit unto. For, if they impartially conſider all Circumſtances, it would be found much eaſier for Chriſtian Kingdoms to bring their Subjects to the Catholick Unity which I propoſe, and ſo to Peace and Settlement, than ever by any Politick Toleration, to ſatisfie and bridle the minds of the divided Parties, ſo as quietly to content themſelves with a Share in a General Toleration. Accordingly, I obſerve there are two ſorts of men that earneſtly preſs for a Toleration:

1. Thoſe that have no true affection for any Religion, or hate all, but finding it ſo ſtrongly impreſs'd upon the minds of moſt People, that it cannot be wholly ſet aſide, they do, like the Harlot that came before *Solomon*, deſire to have the Child divided, and ſo deſtroyed, that they may rob the true Mother of the comfort and enjoyment thereof.

Others there are that deſire a Toleration, that they may have opportunity to ſtrengthen their own Party, and thereby get all Authority into their own hands; and ſo in the end take away all Toleration, or comfortable Being of any but thoſe of their own Principles; Theſe

are

are confessedly the Papists and Presbyterians, as is evident by their Proceedings wherever they had Power. And this was the Project that was found in *Coleman*'s Papers, as the most ready means to settle Popery in this Kingdom, and at length drive out all others, especially the Established Religion of the Nation; for, both *Papist* and *Presbyterian* had the liberty in Private to enjoy their own Opinion, without any Trouble or Punishment; and so, in effect, had a Toleration. But that was not the End they aimed at; They must have full Assemblies, and draw Multitudes after them, and so Threaten, and Awe the Government, or else they are unsatisfied. And that was the Design of *Coleman*'s Toleration. And the same was intended by the *Presbyterians* engaged in the late Rebellion in *Scotland*. Wherefore those Gentlemen who are induced to plead for a Toleration, that all men may enjoy the freedom of their Consciences, are meerly Imposed upon, if they think That is the drift of the Earnest Contenders for it; or else have worse Designs, thereby to destroy Religion, and give Men liberty to indulge themselves in all Lust and Profaneness.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Church cannot grant Toleration.

HAving thus in general ſet down the Reaſons that are alledged, and the ends that are chiefly aimed at by Toleration: I come more particularly to conſider the thing it ſelf, and what we mean by Toleration.

And firſt, I do not intend to enter into a Debate how far a Toleration may be granted to *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Pagans* to exerciſe their Religion. 1

I do utterly diſclaim all ſanguinary Puniſhments, merely upon the Account of Religion, and not aſſenting to the publick eſtabliſhed Belief of a Government, if men are otherwiſe quiet and obedient, and give Security, that they will joyn with their Superiours in all things that concern the Preſervation of the civil Peace; as oppoſing all Rebels and Traytors, paying all Legal Taxes and Impoſitions, and ſerving their Prince faithfully in his Wars againſt the Enemies of the Peace of their Country. 2

I do

3 I do not intend to propose any Rules for punishing of Dissenters, or to define what kind of Punishments, or how great they ought to be, that are to be inflicted upon them.

4 Therefore my present Consideration shall be concerning Toleration of several Sects, professing Christianity under a settled and formed Christian Church and Government, whose Rulers are baptised into, and profess the Catholick Faith. And to the right Stating of this Matter, I must consider what the Church can do. Secondly what the State may do in it, if they please, whether the Church will or no.

And first, if we take the Church for a Society of men united under Pastors and Governours instituted by an orderly Succession, derived down from Christ the Head, and professing Obedience to the Laws of the Gospel; so there can be no possible way to suppose a Toleration without the very Destruction of the Notion of a Church. For, seeing Christs mystical Body is but one, and in our Creed we are taught to believe *One Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church*, It is plain, all that pretend to be of that Society, must agree to the Laws

Laws and Rules thereof, which is to profeſs the Neceſſary Faith, and keep the Unity. Now, to profeſs the Faith, is, to give a hearty Aſſent to the three Creeds which the Catholick Church has generally ſet forth, as a Summary of the Doctrinal part of the Goſpel. To keep the Unity, is to live in the Obedience and Communion of that particular Church, and thoſe Paſtors which are ſet over us, according to the Order of the Church Univerſal. Accordingly, this has been the Rule, and ſtanding Command of the Catholick Church, that every Lay-man ſhould Communicate with his own Pariſh-Prieſt, and every Pariſh-Prieſt ſhould live in the Communion of the Biſhop; and every Biſhop ſhould obſerve the Orders of a Provincial and National Synod, where he lives; and every Provincial Church the Laws and Orders of the Church Univerſal, in things purely Spiritual, and for the Direction of Conſcience. And this is ſettled by the Tradition and Practice of the Church in all Ages, and likewiſe enjoyned in the Canons of the General Councils. According to this Rule, a man that ſeparates himſelf from his own particular Church where he

lives, separates himself from the Catholick Church, and so cuts himself off from Christ's Mystical Body, and consequently from all the Influence and Benefit of Him, the Head. And the Council of *Nice* says, that no Church or Person shall take such a Separatist into their Communion, but they shall incurr the same guilt. Neither is this any other than what our Lord commanded; *If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican*, i. e. cast out from being any longer a Member of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church. And accordingly, the Apostles did practise that Authority, and command all Christians to withdraw from the Society of such obstinate Offenders. Hence St. *Paul* delivered the incestuous *Corinthians* to Satan, 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. And 11. 11. gives the like Command in other cases. And this is no more than in reason is necessary to keep up any Society.

Concil. Nicen. Can. 5. Can. Apost. 13.

Matt. 18. 17.

And first, for the Faith. How can that be kept Pure, if it be left to every particular Person to follow his own Sense, to make what Constructions he pleases? Therefore, this has been the Method all along, when any Point was dispu-

diſputed, and many did profeſs a Senſe thereof, contrary to the received Belief; the Church Univerſal did meet together in a Council, and make Decrees, and ſend her Commands to all Particular Churches, who did ever receive ſuch Commands, and obſerve them. Thus *Acts* 15. When there aroſe a Diſpute about Circumciſion, the Church met in a General Council, and made a Deciſive Decree, *v.* 28. And then ſent it abroad, *v.* 22. and all Churches did ſubmit to it. Afterwards, the Council of *Nice* compoſed a Creed in oppoſition to the *Arrian* Hereſie, which was augmented in the ſecond General Council held at *Conſtantinople*, in Contradiction of the Hereſie of *Macedonius*, and all Chriſtian Churches ever did receive, and at this day do ſubmit to theſe Definitions. *Athanaſius* likewiſe drawing up a more full Explication of the Catholick Faith, His Creed alſo has been received generally in the Church; and 'tis Her Authority that gave it every where Credit and Reception.

Neither is this the Rule and Order of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church in general onely, but all particular Churches in their ſeveral Confeſſions

and Articles have agreed in the same Method. None of them ever ventured to make a new Creed (as Pope *Pius* did) or reject the old ones, but professed the same General Rules they received down from their Forefathers.

This being so clear and undoubted, that the Determination of the Faith was ever preserved and taught as a Prerogative of the Catholick Church: those that talk most soberly of Toleration, propose it onely within those bounds, and so such Persons as assent to the Catholick Faith defined in the Churches Creeds, and will readily confess all other Toleration, but what is so limited, is unreasonable.

Come we now to the other part, To consider the Unity of the Church; and that will appear as necessary to be kept up, as the Faith; and indeed without it 'tis in vain to hope to preserve the Faith sound and entire, for 'tis one part of the Faith to believe *the One Holy Catholick Church.* Now to believe rightly this Article, is to live in her Communion: For, he does not heartily assent that there

there is ſuch a Society of the Faithful, that does not endeavour to be found amongſt them. Neither can there be a Church and Holineſs, without an orderly Subjection to the Governours thereof. If we enquire into the Notion of a Church, we ſhall find all Churches to agree, "'Tis a "Society of men wherein the Word "of God is ſincerely preached, and the "Sacraments are Adminiſtred accord-"ing to the Inſtitution of Chriſt. Now for theſe Adminiſtrations there muſt be Paſtors and Flock, Governours and Governed; and then right Reaſon will tell us, the Paſtors muſt rule, and the Flocks muſt be governed, and there muſt be ſome Order amongſt Paſtors likewiſe; ſome muſt have Authority to ſend them, and to judge of their Qualifications and Behaviour; That cannot be the People, but the Order of Chriſt is, *The Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*, 1 *Corinth.* 14. 32. So that the Paſtors of each Church muſt be ſubject to the main Body, or elſe it will not be a Society, or a Church, but a confuſed Rabble.

And as the Nature of a Church does require that there should be a Relation and Dependance of Governours one upon another, and of the Peoples being subject to their respective Pastors; so there will be the like Necessity, to preserve Holiness, that this Order be kept up; for otherwise, People that are censured in one Place will run to another, and so all Punishments and Discipline will infallibly lose their Effect. But if all Churches do observe the same Rules of Unity as well as of Faith, and the Churches Canons be duely observed, an Offender will run into the same Censure wheresoever he goes, and so the Church will preserve her Communion holy, by shutting out all unholy Persons from her self; and even these Rules are laid down by all particular Churches in their Articles and Confessions, which do bind all their Members, under Anathema's and the Penalty of Schism, to yield Obedience to their Articles and Decrees. So that not only the Canons of General Councils, and the Tradition and Practice of the Universal Church, but even the modern Determinations of all particular Churches do agree in this Notion, That

Vid. Corpus Confess. Vid. La Discipline des Eglises Reformées de France. Par. J. D' Huisseaw

That all Members of a particular Church muſt live in the Communion of their own Paſtors, and all particular Churches muſt keep up the Unity and Communion of Chriſts myſtical Body; whence it will be evident, there is no poſſible way left for Toleration according to the Nature and Rules of the Church; Charity, and brotherly Love, and Communion amongſt themſelves, and Unity with Chriſt the Head, being the Life and Eſſence of a Chriſtian Society. I wonder therefore that Gentlemen of Parts and Learning ſhould talk of or fancie any ſuch thing, when there is not the leaſt Colour from any Antiquity for any ſuch Conceſſion; and the ſtanding Rules and Orders of the Catholick Church, and all particular Churches, do wholly exclude and condemn all ſuch Pretences. And he is accounted an Heretick that rejects any Article of Faith, contained in the Creeds, and he is eſteemed a Schiſmatick that does not hold Communion with his lawful Governours in all lawful things.

Obj. But muſt we then joyn with Popiſh Churches, if our Lot be to live amongſt them; and aſſent to all their

Superstitious Corruptions and Practices, or else be held guilty of Schism?

Ans. No, by no means, for the Rule of Christian Unity does not oblige Persons to assent to any erroneous Doctrine, or joyn in superstitious Worship, but to keep up the Unity of Faith in the Bond of Peace, and Righteousness of Life; which men may do, that with Meekness and Sobriety declare, they are ready to joyn with their Governours as soon as they remove those Superstitions and Errours, which make it unlawful for them at present to joyn in such a Communion.

Obj. But is there not a Schism caused in the Church by this Means? and upon whom must we charge it?

Ans. There is no Question to be made but where there is an Interruption in the Churches Communion, there is caused a Schism; and it must be charged on them that make the Breach, which will lye at their Doors, who by making their Communion unlawful, do unjustly drive away good Christians from it; neither does such a Person that is driven away at present from the external Communion, cease to be a Member of that Church, but is a much

much truer Member thereof than that Paſtor that does unjuſtly drive him from his Communion.

Obj. But ſuppoſe great Multitudes are perſwaded of the Unlawfulneſs of ſuch a Communion, and conſequently withdraw from it; muſt they not be allowed to ſerve God, and is not that granting ſuch a Toleration which I contend againſt?

Anſ. The Order of the Church in that caſe is, That Application muſt be made to their Superiours, who ought to command ſuch Schiſmatical Paſtors to reform ſuch Errours, and upon their Refuſal they are to be depoſed, and others to be ſet up in their ſtead, that ſo the Communion may be preſerved intire.

Obj. But ſuppoſe their Superiours cannot be convened together, or theſe Paſtors will not obey their Deciſions?

Anſ. I will not now go about to conſider all the wayes that ought to be taken to quiet a Rout and Tumult, the Perſons I imagine that plead for a Toleration do ſuppoſe there may be ſeveral publick Congregations in one particular Church, that refuſe to com-

communicate one with another; and yet each may have Allowance and Approbation; but that I deny: Allowance can be granted only to one, and if there be another maintained it is by Violence and Injustice.

Obj. But if we allow Inferiours to judge of their Superiours Actions, and upon Pretence of unlawful Conditions of Communion to separate and withdraw from them; then we lay the Churches Order open to all the Mischiefs and Confusions imaginable: for all turbulent Spirits will never fail, upon one account or another, to charge their Governours with unlawful Impositions, and thereupon break and divide the Churches Unity; and we see plainly, that every Sect does make that Plea for it self.

Answ. But if men rightly consider within what Bounds and Measures men ought to contain themselves, it will not appear, that unquiet Sectaries can make any Advantage to themselves from what I say. For it will not be a bare Pretence, or only Saying so, that will suffice, but they must make the Charge good out of the Word of God, or out of some Command of the Catholick Church, or else their Separation from their

their lawful Paſtors will be a very heinous Schiſm; their own Opinion and Perſwaſion will not be ſufficient, and they muſt juſtifie themſelves to the whole Chriſtian Church, and ſtand to her Senſe and Judgment in the Caſe; and for the preſent they make an humble Repreſentation of their Reaſons to the Governours in their Synods and Convocations, but they muſt not call in the People, and make their Tumults and Reſults the meaſure whereby to judge of the Differences. And if we bring the Pretences of Schiſmaticks to this Touch-ſtone, they will appear idle and impertinent; they will be ſo far from gaining an Approbation, that they will find themſelves manifeſtly condemned; and then for men to alledge that for a Reaſon of their Separation from their Superiours, which is common to all Chriſtians, is in effect to bid Defiance to the Catholick Church. To come home therefore to our preſent Caſe; ſince it is clear, that in the Church of *England* there is no ſinful Condition of Communion required, nor nothing impoſed, but what is according to the Order and Practice of the Catholick Church; there can be no Pretence for any

any Toleration here; nay they will be guilty of a very heinous Schism, that do not obey their lawful Governours amongst us, and firmly adhere to their Communion.

CHAP. III.

The State ought not to grant Toleration of Hereticks and Schismaticks.

I Hope what I have said is sufficient to shew, that the Church according to her Order and Constitution cannot give way to any such thing as Toleration. Come we now to consider what the State may do, for there the great Contenders for it, do place their greatest Confidence; Now the Question is in a Christian Kingdom, where the Governours are baptised into the Catholick Faith, and profess the Christian Religion; and then the Resolution will be easie, as to what they cannot lawfully do. For, being by their baptismal Vow engaged in the Profession of the Catholick Faith, there lies the same Obligation upon them,

them, as does upon other Chriſtians, to maintain and promote the Churches Peace and Unity, and ſo ſhut out all Hereſie and Schiſm; and thereupon they are bound, as much as in them lies, to ſee the Orders which God has appointed for preventing theſe Miſchiefs carefully obſerved by all their Subjects; ſo that it is ſo far from being lawful for them to give a Toleration to Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, that they ought by all prudent and rational means to endeavour to bring them to the Unity of the Church. For if there be ſuch Sins as Hereſie and Schiſm, as certainly there are, and they are offenſive to God, all Chriſtian Magiſtrates, who are *Cuſtodes utriuſque tabulæ*, are obliged to take Care that God be not diſhonoured by their Subjects, at leaſt cannot without offending themſelves give Licenſe to others to ſin againſt God, as they will do if by granting Toleration they give men leave to run into Hereſie and Schiſm.

Obj. But ſuppoſe the State does think it neceſſary to grant a Toleration, or elſe convenient for ſome ends of their own, and there upon ſhall proceed to do it?

Anſw.

Answ. Toleration being unlawful, as I have shewed, there can be no Necessity to grant it; but if Secular Magistrates will Grant a Toleration, the Church has no external Force or Authority to oppose it; all Ecclesiastical Persons, as well as others, of what Order or Degree soever, are subject to the King, and those that are set in Authority under Him, and must not forcibly resist their Pleasures and Commands, but they may modestly represent the unlawfulness thereof, and mind them of their Baptismal Covenant, and the Obligation that lyes upon them to promote Gods Honour, from whom they derive their own. But if, notwithstanding all these Reasons to the contrary, the Magistrate will persist in his former Resolutions, though he does sin in doing it, yet we must submit to his Pleasure therein; for the Communion of the Church may still be kept pure, because all Orthodox Christians may hold Communion together, and withdrew themselves from, and Excommunicate all those that break the Churches Unity; but they must by no means make Insurrections and Tumults, or any way disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; much less Rebell;

bell, or Depoſe their Governours (as Popiſh Canon-Law does allow) and force them to do their Duty.

CHAP. IV.

Objections drawn from the difference of Mens Apprehenſions, anſwered.

TOleration then, in it ſelf, being ſo plainly oppoſite to the Nature of a Church, and the Conſtitution of a Chriſtian Society, and therefore not to be allowed either by the Powers Civil or Eccleſiaſtical; for the further ſatisfaction of all Perſons of the Unlawfulneſs thereof, I will endeavour to anſwer the Reaſons that are generally alleged for it.

Obj. Firſt, therefore, Some will be apt to ſuggeſt, Mens Underſtandings are not to be altered but by Reaſon and Conviction; and that though they may ſometimes diſſemble, or diſguiſe their Opinions, out of Intereſt or Complyance, yet they can never heartily Aſſent to the contrary belief. Force therefore and Compulſion may make men Hypocrites,

crites, but it cannot rectifie the Judgment, or make men religious; but as soon as their Understandings are well informed, they will become vertuous of their own accord; and so their good Deeds will be more acceptable, and they will not be easily turned aside. From whence they infer, 'tis most reasonable to tolerate every man in the free Exercise of his own Perswasion.

Answ. I confess, a man can never be truly Religious, that does not freely give up himself to the Profession of the Truth; and no Force can ever bring the Understanding to assent to that which it does believe is false, neither was it ever pretended, as I know, by any Sober man; but this is that which is commonly said in this case; God has made all men with Capacity and Understanding to receive and assent to all Truth, which concerns them to know for their Salvation; therefore, there must be some Defect and Miscarriage in the Use of their Faculties, if they do not see the Truth, and Assent to all parts of their Duty. If then, through bad Education, or Company, men have sucked in ill Principles, or else, through Sloth and Negligence, have

have not taken pains to ſearch into the Truth, or elſe for worldly Intereſt and Advantages, have ſuppreſſed the light of their Minds; 'tis fit they ſhould be obliged by their Governours better to attend and enquire into the ſtate of things, that ſo they may arrive at fuller Information: ſo that to grant them Toleration, is to leave them at liberty to run headlong to their own deſtruction. It will therefore be ſo far from Cruelty, that it will be the greateſt Charity and Kindneſs, by moderate courſes to induce them to ſee and avoid the danger they are in.

Obj. But perhaps ſome will reply, They have been very diligent and induſtrious to inform themſelves, and, it may be, have taken more pains in the Inquiry after Truth, than thoſe who now call upon them rightly to inform themſelves, and yet notwithſtanding they are not ſatisfied, that they ought to aſſent to thoſe things that are required of them. If therefore the Perſons are otherwiſe Sober and Rational, and do ſpend their time in the ſtudy after Truth, all Equity does ſeem to require, that they ſhould be tolerated in their own way.

Anſ. I muſt ſay ſtill, God has given all men means and Capacity to underſtand and aſſent to their Duty; therefore notwithſtanding all the Pretences of theſe men to diligent Enquiry, They have ſome way or other failed in their Endeavours, that do not aſſent to the Truth; neither has God only given us Abilities to find out the Truth, but has provided a Means to direct us to know where the Failure is. For I confeſs it may fall out, that the Errour may be on the part of the particular Governours, as well as of the Inferiours; therefore for the right finding out the Truth we muſt bring the matters in Difference to that meaſure, which God has left for our Direction.

Obj. What is this Rule?

Anſ. The Holy Scriptures.

Obj. But are They not lyable to the ſame Difficulties? and do we not find by Experience, that thoſe who do profeſs to follow that Rule for their Guide, yet very much differ, and raiſe great Diſputes about the Senſe thereof? ſo that ſtill the ſame Difficulty will remain.

Anſw. Neither in this Caſe has God Almighty left us without a ſufficient way to know where the Truth is, and even

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to make it appear to others; Namely, the conſtant Faith and Profeſſion of the Catholick Church, which is *the Pillar and Ground of Truth*, and ſubſiſts by it, and continues a ſtanding Monument to witneſs the ſame to all Ages, till the end of the World; and if once ſhe ſhould fail in this evident Profeſſion, ſhe would ceaſe to be: which all ſober Divines grant is impoſſible. Neither can ſhe be hid, for thy *Teachers ſhall not be removed into a Corner any more, but thine Eyes ſhall ſee thy Teachers.* And, *the Word ſhall not depart out of the Mouth of thy Seed, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seeds Seed, ſaith the Lord, henceforth and for ever.* When therefore God has made all men that they might come to the Knowledge of the Truth, and alſo given us a ſtanding Guide to ſhew us who came ſhort of it; that is a vain Pretence to make for Toleration, that mens Underſtanding cannot be changed till they are convinced; and they cannot be convinced till they ſee reaſon for it: for the Commands of the Church are in Order to bring them to ſuch Conſideration, as will convince and ſatisfie their Underſtandings in the Evidence of the Truth. And the Church muſt

1 Tim. 3. 15. Ephes. 4. 13. Mat. 16. 18. Iſa. 30. 20. Iſa. 59. 21. Acts 17. 26, 27.

ever continue her Diſcipline till they come up to that; for ſhe is ſure the Defect muſt be on their part, if they come ſhort of their Duty. Accordingly, if we bring any Heretick or Schiſmatick now in Being, to the Churches Rule, we ſhall find their Errours are ſingular, and they oppoſe the Church in them, or elſe maintain their own private Opinions in Oppoſition to her Faith and Unity; thus the *Socinians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Pelagians* and *Quakers* revive up ancient Hereſies, that were for many years condemned, and long laid aſleep in the Church, and are even at this day, anathematized by all formed Societies of Chriſtians, that ſtand eſtabliſhed by any publick Authority. The Papiſts likewiſe, Preſbyterians, and Independants, in thoſe things which are the Ground of their Difference with the Church, and cauſe the Schiſm amongſt Chriſtians, do ſet up their own Novelties and Devices contrary to the Authority of the Church.

Obj. But ſome will ſtill object, that it ſeems very hard, that men ſhould be obliged to agree to ſpeculative Truths, and obſcure Notions, which have been alwayes the ſubject of Diſpute, and indeed

deed ſeem to be above the Reach of mens Underſtandings; if men did not ſubmit their Judgments to their Superiours in moral Truths, which are within the Knowledge of all mens Capacities, then it might appear reaſonable in Governours to debarr them from the free Profeſſion of their private Opinions.

Anſ. But if that be a good Reaſon which was alledged from the Impoſſibility of mens Altering their Judgments, then it will hold concerning Opinions about Morality as well as in other matters, and deſtroy all Government in civil matters alſo; for therein men are found many times widely to differ. But ſince ſome are willing to yield up that Point, I will conſider the other part of the Objection, concerning ſpeculative Truths, and will ſhew, that the Obligation is as great, and the Conviction as eaſie to be made in them, as about any natural or moral things. For the Reaſon why we ought to aſſent to them, is as much a natural Principle and General Notion, as any other we have; for what Principles are more plain in Reaſon, than theſe: that we ought to believe God is true, and whatſoever he does require us to aſſent to, is

likewiſe true; that 'tis impoſſible for God to make a Revelation to Mankind, and require them to follow the Directions of it; that when he has made ſuch a Revelation, they will violate the Law of Reaſon, that do not hearken to the Commands that are thus given by God. Now ſince God did ſend his own Son to publiſh ſuch a Law, and he by his own Miracles, and the Power he gave to his Diſciples, has erected a Standing Witneſs and Monument of his Revelation, which is clearly delivered down to us; though the Matter that is revealed, may be dark and obſcure to many Mens Underſtandings; yet ſince it is plain, that the things themſelves are revealed by God; right Reaſon will tell us, we ought to aſſent to them upon his Credit, without farther Enquiry after their Truth: for it is ſufficient for any Man's Satisfaction, to ſay, God has revealed it, therefore it is true. But we ought to endeavour indeed after a fuller Underſtanding of thoſe Divine Myſteries.

Obj. But ſome will ſtill object; men are not ſo clearly ſatisfied, that all theſe things are revealed by God Almighty; if indeed it were made out plain unto them,

them, that God by his Certain Revelation did command them to believe and do ſuch things, then right Reaſon would oblige them to give a ready and moſt hearty Aſſent; but ſince there are ſo many Diſputes raiſed about the meaning of this Revelation, and the World is ſo full of Contention, it cannot be thought, that God, who is Goodneſs it ſelf, does lay ſuch hard Conditions upon Men, as to require their Aſſent and Conformity to ſo many Rules and Articles as are exacted of them.

Anſ. But can it be imagined, that God would ſend his Son into the World, to die for the World, and publiſh a Law, commanding all Men under peril of Damnation to obſerve it (as he does, 2. *Theſſ.* 1. 7, 8. *The Lord Jeſus ſhall be Revealed from Heaven with his Mighty Angels, in Flaming Fire, taking Vengeance of them that know not God, and that obey not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; who ſhall be puniſhed with Everlaſting Deſtruction, from the Preſence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.*) and then excuſe them afterwards, though they do not obey his Commands, becauſe the Devil has ſtirred up Wicked Men to make Schiſms and Diſputes in the Church?

This will be so far from being an Excuse, that God himself has told us in his Word, That these Heresies and Divisions are permitted for this purpose, To be Tryals of our Stedfastness, and for an Exercise of our Diligence and Enquiry.

1. Cor. 11. 19. *There must be also Heresies amongst you, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among you*; but yet God has in this, as in all other Temptations, provided a sure way to escape. Therefore, though there be Disputes and Divisions; yet God has promised, that the way shall

Isa. 35. 8. be so plain, *The Way-faring Men, though Fools, shall not err therein.*

Obj. This is no more than every Body says: for though the several Parties doe violently dispute and contend one against another; yet every one says, this is the plain way, and all others are Fools and mistaken; so that every one is apt to call another Fool, that is not of his Opinion, and will still oblige him to search, till he is of his own mind; but all cannot be in the Right, and therefore all must use their own Reason to satisfie themselves, since the Way is so plain, and it will not be safe to rest to others, because they do differ; while therefore they are under this

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Enquiry, at leaſt, it ſeems reaſonable they ſhould be Tolerated in their own way.

Anſ. Theſe things may be pretended for Worldly Ends, as well as urged for real Scruples. 2. 'Tis very probable, that many do rather pretend they are thus unſatisfied, when they are not really ſo; but only make Uſe of ſuch a Plea for other Purpoſes. But Thirdly, I confeſs, if a private Man, or a ſmall Company only, ſhould thus earneſtly preſs others to embrace their ſingular Opinions, there would be ſome Reaſon in this Objection; but that is not the Caſe: Men are not urged with the Authority of a Single Man, or a particular Church only; but with the Commoneſt Principle in Nature, that we can make Uſe of to end Differences and Contentions; that is, to yield to that, which the Moſt, the Wiſeſt, and Sobereſt of that Profeſſion, have all along agreed in. For Inſtance, will it not be thought reaſonable, in a Point of Law, to ſubmit to that ſenſe which has been conſtantly received in all Schools and Judicatures for a Thouſand Years together? and why may we

we not say the same concerning religious Matters? And without either Impertinentness, or Rudeness, or Scorn, say you are mistaken, because you maintain an Opinion or a Communion contrary to the Sense and Understanding which the Christian Church ever had about these matters? And the Evidence will still be stronger against any Dissenter, because God has more peculiarly promised his Assistance and Guidance to the Rulers thereof; and that he will be with them alwayes to the end of the World, and has appointed them on Purpose to keep men steady amidst all Disputes and Confusions. So that to tell a man he must search till he comes to joyn with the Church, is not to say to him, you are in the wrong because you are not of my Opinion; but because he does not see that which the Christian Society did ever see, and practise, and derived from Gods Word. And he does not follow those Guides wherein they generally agree, which God has set, and promised for to keep us from this dangerous Errour; for if a hundred men do not see that which ten thousand do, 'tis a Sign their Eyes are distorted, or they do not look the right way.

To

To bring this home to our preſent Purpoſe; ſince God Almighty, beſides the Law of right Reaſon, has been pleaſed to publiſh another revealed Law in writing, and commanded all men every where to obſerve it; and has likewiſe by his Providence kept up a viſible Profeſſion of all the neceſſary Points thereof in the far greateſt part, if not in all eſtabliſhed Societies of Chriſtians, with a joint Agreement in all thoſe things that are required as Conditions of Communion in the Church of *England*, (as namely to be baptiſed into the Chriſtian Faith, and profeſs the Creeds; to obſerve the ten Commandments; to joyn with their own Eccleſiaſtical Governours, in the Lords Prayer, and other publick Prayers upon Sundays, and all other times appointed by Law; to receive the Communion at *Eaſter*, at leaſt, or thereabout, and oftener if there be good Occaſion, and to obey their Governours Eccleſiaſtical and Civil in all other Ceremonies and Conſtitutions not repugnant to the Word of God) it is againſt both Reaſon and Religion to tolerate any other Profeſſion of Chriſtianity for Natives, or to give them Leave not to obſerve theſe pious

pious Orders, wherein all ſober Chriſtians do agree; and we may ſafely ſay, that their Underſtandings are miſguided which do not diſcern that, which all publick Chriſtian Societies did ever judge to be according to the Word of God, and therefore oblige them to inform themſelves better, till they ſee the ſame Truths, which ſo many ſober and unprejudiced Perſons have ever done.

CHAP. V.

Objections drawn from Politicks, anſwered.

COME we now to conſider the Reaſons that are offered to the State, to ſhew a Neceſſity (for the Preſervation thereof, in the Excluſion of Papiſts and Popery,) to grant a Toleration of ſeveral Religions. But I will not dive far into the Maxims of Politicks, but only conſider the Shortneſs of the Arguments; and ſhew, that in humane Prudence the keeping out Toleration, as it is a Meanes the better to promote the Honour of God, ſo it is alſo the beſt way

way to keep out Popery, and ſecure the temporal Intereſt of the Government.

I will firſt conſider the keeping out Popery; now That may come in two ways. Firſt, by convincing the People by way of Argument and Reaſon, to become Papiſts. Secondly, by Force and Violence deſtroying all thoſe that will not be of their Perſwaſion. As to the firſt way of Introducing Popery, by Reaſon and Argument; I hope no one will pretend, that granting a Toleration will be a Meanes to hinder that; for when men have Liberty to follow their own Fancies, and to hear whom they pleaſe, they may as well receive private Inſtructions from Papiſts, as any others. Nay when the great Argument which does commonly ſeduce thoſe that fall off to the Church of *Rome*, is the Pretence of Antiquity and Order; when Antiquity and Order ſhall be ſo manifeſtly rejected, and nothing but the Confuſion of a heady and ignorant Multitude left amongſt us, and People ſhall want to be catechiſed in the neceſſary and fundamental Principles of Chriſtianity,

nity, they must needs be left a Prey to be seduced to Popery. Accordingly we find, that since the late Confusions in *Forty one*, Popery has made a considerable Progress in the Nation, and Multitudes have gone over to that Party; but usually they were Dissenters, or men not well instructed in the Grounds and Principles of the Church of *England*. And now, since the great Liberty that Men have taken to withdraw from the Church, and so many are grown up that are not well Catechised in the Principles of Religion; but yet have been led on with an Opinion of their own Understanding and Proficiency, in the Knowledge and Practice of Christianity. These Men when they come seriously to be set upon by a subtle Papist, will find themselves so miserably confounded and mistaken, that in all likelyhood, they are in a very near Disposition to receive Instructions from Papists, whom they find so able to shew the Insufficiency of their present Way, and to give them so many Reasons for their own, which they nor their Teachers cannot contradict. Besides, a Toleration will not leave these only unsettled, that are yet igno-

ignorant, but will give way for all other Lazy, Conceited or Weak perſons, to be drawn from the Sober Inſtructions of the Church of *England*; and ſo increaſe the Number of thoſe that are thus lyable to be ſeduced.

But if the Authority of the Church of *England* be kept up, and perſons be Educated, and well Catechiſed in her Communion; they will be ſo ſettled in the Grounds and Reaſons of their Religion, and it will appear ſo rational, and built upon ſo ſure a Foundation, which is Scripture, interpreted by the *Catholick* Church, and a Faith agreed in by all other Chriſtian Societies that have any publick Eſtabliſhment; and from this there can be no Colour of Reaſon to remove any that are Eſtabliſhed in it.

But, come you then to the other caſe; if the Papiſts ſhould go about to introduce their Religion by Rebellion, Maſſacre, and Force of Arms, as they did in *Ireland*; in order to prevent that, 'tis ſuggeſted, 'tis neceſſary there ſhould be granted a Toleration, that all Proteſtants might joyn together in one Common Intereſt, that ſo they may be the better able to oppoſe them.

To

To which I answer, 'Tis very fit all good Protestants should joyn together, to oppose such rebellious Proceedings of the Papists, and all others, that after such a wicked manner do propagate Religion; but what Necessity is there for a Toleration in order to that Union? For, are we not thus united together already without it? Do not all good Protestants owe Allegiance to the King, and Obedience to the Laws of the Land? and have not most Dissenters, as well as others, sworn so much? Nay are they not bound to defend the King and Kingdom against all such Violence, by their Covenant in Baptism? Therefore besides the Obligation of Interest, Dissenters and all others in this Nation are bound religiously and civilly, and morally too, to joyn with the King in Suppressing all such Violence and Rebellion, and that without a Toleration, if Dissenters have a good Conscience and will observe their Duty herein. But if they are men that will not be guided by their Duty in this matter, without Toleration, 'tis most probable their Design to get a Toleration, is only, that they may have Opportunity to seduce more to their Party,

Party, and then under Pretence of Keeping out Popery, they may overturn both the Religion and Government of the Nation, as formerly they have done.

Let us then ſuppoſe it ſhould ſo fall out, (as ſome do ſeem to threaten) that unleſs Diſſenters be humoured, they will not heartily joyn to keep out the Planting of Popery by Rebellion, but perhaps ſome of them might be apt to joyn with the Papiſts therein; yet I hope there will be no Neceſſity to grant them a Toleration. For ſo long as his ſacred Majeſty is a conſtant Defender of the Religion and Laws of the Nation, and all in Authority under him (whether Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military) have ſworn Allegiance to him, and do actually communicate with the Church (far be it therefore that we ſhould think them either Hypocrites or forſworn) and then theſe taking in all the Prime Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, with their Adherents and Dependents, and what Intereſt they can make; I hope there will be Strength enough not only to withſtand the Papiſts, but all Diſſenters too, that ſhall joyn with them to diſturb the Peace

and Settlement of the Nation. But if it ſhould be ſuppoſed that their Numbers ſhould be ſo conſiderable, that it would be very difficult to oppoſe them; then there would ſtill be more Neceſſity to take prudent wayes to leſſen their Party, and draw off the ſobereſt from their Confederacies: Or elſe, what a miſerable State muſt this Nation be in, while there is ſuch a powerful Intereſt, deſtitute of any ſettled Principles of Religion, deſtitute of any Senſe of Oaths of Allegiance, and wholly at the Devotion of a few Demagogues and popular Preachers, and men of that Temper and Perſwaſion, which did once overturn the Government and Religion of the Nation! So that, though at preſent there be no ſuch Danger, but there are men of Conſcience and Loyalty enough to ſuppreſs any Tumults and Inſurrections; yet to grant a Toleration (ſuppoſing the caſe was doubtful) would be the readieſt means to ſtrengthen the rebellious Party, and to weaken the Loyal and well affected; and therefore it is ſo far from being the Intereſt and Advantage of the Nation, that it is the ready way to unhinge and deſtroy the Government, and 'tis abſolutely putting

putting the Power out of the hands of the King and Laws, and leaving it in the Management of the People, and thoſe whom they ſhall moſt court and admire; and who they are, uſually, it is pretty well known.

But others will object, That ſtrict Obliging all men to obſerve the eſtabliſhed Religion, will be a great hinderance of Trade; and will diſcourage many ingenious Perſons from ſettling amongſt us, who by their wealth and Induſtry would bring great Advantage and Strength to the Government. But this Objection I have conſidered already, and hope that all ſober men, when they remember how unlawful and deſtructive Toleration will prove upon other Accounts, they will not ſell the Bleſſing of God, and the Comfort of Peace in the Church, and Unity in Religion, for the ſeeming Hopes of a little worldly Profit. Beſides, when men follow their own Counſels in theſe matters, without any Regard to the Honour of God, they find themſelves widely miſtaken in their Aimes; how ſoon can God ſend a Plague, or Famine, or a Civil War (as we have ſad reaſon to keep in mind) and deſtroy that Mul-

titude which ſhall be gathered together by ſuch unlawful Means, and a thouſand wayes blaſt, and curſe all ſuch Projects and Deſigns? Moreover, I do not ſee any ground at all to raiſe ſuch an Objection, ſince our Traffique at Sea is much greater than ever it was ſince the Nation ſtood. Our Markets are ſtored with Plenty of all Commodities that the World can afford, and no Ground lies untilled, and no Commodities are prohibited to be ſold becauſe they belong to diſſenters, but Trade is as open to them as any others, and if there were a ſtricter Inquiry into ſuch Matters, yet they know how to trade by their Factors, as well as they do in the *Straits* and *Indies*. I never yet heard that Diſſenters denyed themſelves, or loſt any Advantage of Trade upon ſuch an Account.

But farther it will be ſaid, that Nature does teach men to be kind and gentle, loving and courteous; but by Experience it is found, that upon Difference in Religion men have turned cruel and unnatural, and uſed all ways to torment and deſtroy one another. There-

Therefore 'tis more reaſonable, that there ſhould be a Toleration granted; that men under Pretence of Propagating their Religion might not have Occaſion to vent their Malice, and ſatisfie their Covetouſneſs and Ambition.

I confeſs the Papiſts and Preſbyterians have, under this Pretence, brought great Confuſion upon the Chriſtian World, and have endeavoured to get Power and Wealth into their hands by ſuch unchriſtian Methods; therefore their Principles and Practices ought to be ſuppreſſed by all Ways that are poſſible, if ever men hope for Peace amongſt Chriſtians. But their ſchiſmatical and rebellious Proceedings, are no way to be imputed to the Church; neither will their Cruelties and Exceſs be any Argument to take away that rational Diſcipline which Chriſtianity does command to be exerciſed upon Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, as well as profane Perſons. The Chriſtian Church did never teach or require, that any ſhould be put to Death, merely as Hereticks, or that they ſhould be cruelly tormented; but only that they

should be hindred from propagating their Errours, and by suitable Penalties compelled to bear Instruction, and consider impartially, what is offered for their Conviction; neither can Dissenters complain of any cruel Usage under the Churches Discipline.

CHAP. VI.

Objections drawn from the Examples of Christ and his Apostles, Considered.

BUT Christ and his Apostles did use no compulsive Means to propagate the Christian Religion, at the first planting of Christianity; but went about only perswading, and by way of Arguments working upon their Understandings; and why may not all men be left to their Liberty now, as well as then?

Toleration was unlawful then, as it is now: for our Saviour tells us, *There must be one Fold under one Shepherd.* And it was also the Duty of the Magistrates that lived in the Days of Christ and his Apostles, to use all reasonable Penalties to make their Subjects to consider, and then to profess and obey the Gospel.

John 10. 16.

But

But becauſe they were negligent in their Duty herein, God did endue the Apoſtles with a more eaſie power of Convincing Men, than we have now: for we muſt uſe long Arguments, and make large Diſcourſes to prove what we ſay, which will need a great deal of Time and Conſideration for men rightly to underſtand; and therefore many out of mere Sloth, and to avoid Trouble, will run away from the Church; whereas Chriſt and his Apoſtles, having the Power of working Miracles, they could propoſe what they had to deliver in ſhort, and then work a Miracle immediately to convince their Auditors. Beſides, the matter that was then in Controverſie was more plain and obvious, the Oppoſition being chiefly between *Jews* and *Pagans*, againſt whom the Arguments are moſt clear and evident; but many of our Controverſies, as to the matter of them, are not eaſie to be apprehended by all Capacities; and therefore there is required great Seriouſneſs and Attention, to the right Diſcerning of the Truth, eſpecially now, when Men have loſt all Reverence for the Church, and will take nothing upon the Authority of their Superiours;

therefore, when the generality of Mankind are careless and negligent, and do not take such Pains, and use such Consideration as is needful, rightly to inform themselves, one great End of Government, is to compell Men to hear, and attend to such Instruction as is necessary to bring them to a Saving Knowledge of their Duty. So that those that plead for a Toleration, may as well complain of all Schools, and all those Governours that train up Youth, and use Discipline to make them learn. Neither let any deride this, by saying, That is to make School-Boys of them: for 'tis a Solid Truth, that it hath been the Wisdom of all Sober Governours to compell their Subjects to hearken to such Instruction, as is necessary for them; and 'tis as certain, that many Grown Persons are as ignorant of what concerns them in matters of Religion, and as averse from Attending so much, as is needful rightly to inform themselves in their Duty, as the most untrained Youths; therefore, though they are Men in Age, if they be Children in Understanding and Practice, and either do not know, or

else

elſe will not do their Duty; 'tis fit Governours, who are the Common Fathers of their Countreys, (if private Parents, have been negligent or unſucceſsful in the Education of their Children) ſhould take Care to make all their Subjects to Learn, and alſo to Perform their Duty towards God and Man; and that they can never do, but by bringing them to the Unity of the Church. But for Governours to grant a Toleration, is the way to bring the Guilt of all their Miſcarriages upon themſelves, and is a Neglect of that Charge which is given them by God, which is, as much as in them lies, to ſee his Honour and Worſhip conſtantly Promoted and obſerved by all their Subjects; and therefore we find the Kings of *Judah* were blamed, that did not take away all falſe Worſhip out of their Dominions.

It is alſo further to be conſidered, that amongſt the Diſſenters, in whoſe behalf a Toleration is deſired, there is ſcarce one in a hundred, that does underſtand how the Points in Difference are ſtated, either by the Church, or by thoſe of their own Party; but run on blindly in an implicit Belief of

of their own Teachers, and are more led by Humour than Judgment. Can it be reaſonable then, that men ſhould be permitted thus ſtrangely to delude themſelves, and to forſake their proper Paſtors, without ſo much as Hearing or Underſtanding what is required of them? This therefore ſeems to be a Method more rational than any other: That men ſhould in the firſt place be obliged to give all diligent Attention to Underſtand what is required of them by their Lawful Governours, and not without very evident Reaſon follow any private Teachers that give them contrary Inſtructions.

2. That all Chriſtian Magiſtrates ought to ſee, that none be permitted to preach publickly, or hold any Congregations, but ſuch as profeſs that Faith and Worſhip which is agreeable to the Catholick Church; for They ought to remove all Stumbling-Blocks and Occaſions of Errour out of the way.

3. In caſe many are diſſatisfied with the publick eſtabliſhed Religion, after they underſtand what it is, nevertheleſs they ought to be puniſhed with reaſonable Penalties, to make them the better conſider, and that they may not pro-

propoſe to themſelves any temporal Advantage by their Separation. For 'tis found by Experience, that many Papiſts did go to Church in times of *Cromwel*, which afterwards returned to the Church of *Rome*, when they were not puniſhed for it; and many Fanaticks went to Conventicles while the Indulgence continued, that before lived in all Obedience, and Conformity to the Church. But if, after all, they ſtill perſevere in their Errour, they are not to be put to Death, or cruelly tormented; and all ſuch Diſſenters ought to reſt ſatisfied with their private Devotions at home: and by this means all Perſons may perform their Duty in their Places, and publick Tumults and Diſorders will be prevented, and Remedy provided in a good Meaſure againſt Ignorance and Profaneneſs. For Magiſtrates, they will by this means be enabled to diſcharge a good Conſcience, when they have uſed their Care to eſtabliſh Gods publick Worſhip, as may be moſt for his Honour, and employed their Power to bring all men to the Knowledge and Obſervance of their Duty, and likewiſe taken away, as much as in them lies, all publick Profana-

fanation thereof by false and erroneous Worship.

2. All private Christians will be enabled likewise to perform their Duty in such a Measure as God will accept; And first, those that erre out of Ignorance, Prejudice, or for worldly Ends will have great Inducements to cast off those Impediments, and come to a right Sense of their Duty; whereas without such means, under a general Toleration, they would follow the Stream of their own Passions, and so carelessly sink into hell, before they did seriously think of their Danger. But secondly, others who really suffer out of Conscience, will not by this means be debarred from Enjoying the Freedom of their own Sentiments; and in private, they may serve God as they think best, and consult and discourse with those who they believe can give them the soundest Information. And if they do suffer unjustly, and in a good Cause, yet the Comfort of Gods Spirit, the Joy of a good Conscience, and the publick Care that is taken to prevent Ignorance and Profaneness, by this means will or ought better to please all sober men, and pious Christians, than the pub-

publick Exerciſe of their own way of Worſhip, under the Inconvenience of a boundleſs and a general Toleration; For God has left the Power of Appointing publick times, publick Places, and the Order of the publick Service to Chriſtian Governours and Paſtors; and therefore if they do not in all Regards perform their Duty, yet Inferiours muſt not uſurp their Authority, and in ſuch a Caſe, all that God does require of them is to ſerve him with a pure Heart in their private Cloſets, and therein he has allowed every one to be his own Judge, and his own Prieſt: and in this Senſe it is, that all good Chriſtians *are Kings and Prieſts unto God*, to offer up the private Sacrifices of Praiſe and Thankſgiving for themſelves in their Cloſets: But that alone will not be ſufficient, when there is a publick Service that is lawful, wherein they may joyn. But if Chriſtian Governours eſtabliſh a Communion which is erroneous, and ſuch as private Perſons cannot joyn with, then God will accept their Service in their own private Houſes, but does not warrant them to make Tumults; to hold Conventicles, and to ſet up publick Teachers of their own, or to make themſelves publick Teachers, without publick Authority. Go-

Rev. 5.10.

Governours likewise, to whom God has committed the Power of Appointing the Publick Worship of God, ought to see That carefully performed; and thereupon must never permit any Publick Service, but what is agreeable to the Mind of God, and that can be but our Communion, which ought to be Regulated according to the Faith and Law of the Catholick Church, which do forbid all Heretical and Schismatical Assemblies, and erecting Altar against Altar, and consequently all Toleration.

CHAP. VII.

An Historical Account, how Dissenters were punished amongst the Jews, *and during the time of the Six General Councils.*

NOw that what I purpose is not out of mine own Head, but the Method which God himself did approve of, and all Holy Men have practised, will appear by that short Account which I shall give of the Progress that has been made in this Matter; and that even

even by God's Appointment and Allowance, Governours have in all Ages uſed a certain Diſcipline to bring Men to a Religious Performing of their Duty.

And Firſt, It was a Standing Law in the *Jewiſh* Nation, That they were to go to the Prieſts and Levites, and unto the Judges that ſhould be in thoſe days; and their Sentence was to be peremptorily obſerved, and for preſumptuous Diſobedience Men were to be put to Death, *Deut.* 17. 9. and we have an Inſtance, how *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for offering to ſet up Altar againſt Altar, were miraculouſly deſtroyed by God Almighty, in deteſtation of ſuch a Schiſmatical Profanation of his Worſhip.

Phineas likewiſe *ſtood up, and Executed Judgment; and that was counted unto him for Righteouſneſs.* Pſal. 106.30, 31. And 'tis ſuch a known Duty of Governours, to compell Men to obſerve the Commands of God, that 'tis remarkably taken notice of, as a State of *Anarchy*, when there was a Toleration for Men to do as they liſt. Judges 17. 6. *In thoſe Days there was no King in* Iſrael, *but every Man did that which was* Numb. 16.

right

Right in his own Eyes. The same is said, Chap. 21. and v. 25. *Azariah*, otherwise a good King, is blamed for granting Toleration, and signally punished by God for it. 2 *Kings* 15. 3, 4. Azariah *did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father* Amaziah *had done; save, that the high Places were not removed; the People sacrificed and burnt Incense still in the high Places. And the Lord smote the King so that he was a Leper* &c. *Hezekiah* likewise is commended for Abolishing all false Worship, and setting up the Worship of God. *He removed the high Places, and brake the Images, and cut down the Groves* &c. *He trusted in the Lord God of* Israel, *so that after him was none like him amongst all the Kings of* Judah, *nor any that were before him; for he clave to the Lord and departed not from following him, but kept his Commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses.* But the Instance which is signally given, is, that he took away that Toleration which others had permitted to be. The like we read of *Josiah*, 2 *Kings* 22. *Ezrah* went with Letters from *Artaxerxes*, requiring, that *Whatsoever is commanded by the God of Heaven, should be diligently*

2 Kings 18. 4.

Ezra 7. 23, 26, 27.

ly done for the Houſe of the God of Heaven; for why ſhould there be Wrath againſt the Realm of the King, and his Sons? Ezra 7. 23. and then *v.* 26. *Whoſoever will not do the Law of thy God, and the Law of the King, let Judgment be executed ſpeedily upon him, whether it be unto Death, or to Baniſhment, or to Confiſcation of Goods, or to Impriſonment*; and then the Text adds, *Bleſſed be the Lord God of our Fathers, which hath put ſuch a thing as this in the Kings Heart.* *Nehemiah* alſo contended with the Breakers of the Law, *and curſed them, and ſmote certain of them, and pluckt off their Hair, and made them ſware by God.* Nehem. 13. 25.

Go we on to the New Teſtament; there we find our Saviour counting Schiſmatical Worſhip as none at all; ſpeaking to a Woman of *Samaria* that did not worſhip God in his holy Temple at *Jeruſalem*, he ſays of her and the reſt of the *Samaritanes*, *Ye worſhip ye know not what, We know what we worſhip, for Salvation is of the Jews.* And St. *Jude* tells us, that there are thoſe that under the Goſpel, *Periſh in the Gainſaying of* Core, though the Heathen Magiſtrates did then grant them a Toleration; and though during that time that our Sa-

Joh. 4. 22.

Jude 11.

viour and his Apoſtles lived, and till after the Scriptures were written, we read of no Chriſtian Magiſtrates, or any temporal Governours, that did uſe their Authority to eſtabliſh the Goſpel, and require their Subjects to obſerve it; Yet the Obligation that lies upon all Magiſtrates by the Law of Nature, and the Example of thoſe pious Governours in the Jewiſh Nation, who did exerciſe this Diſcipline were alwaies in Force, to ſhew it the Duty of Chriſtian Magiſtrates to expreſs the like Care in Promoting the Worſhip of God. But yet farther, the new Teſtament does confirm to Kings and Princes, all that lawful Authority which they had before, and does not in any thing deminiſh that Right, which the Kings of *Judah* had; and moreover does add, that
Rom. 13. they are to *be a Terrour to evil Doers*, and that *they bear not the Sword in vain.* Thence common Equity will teach us to inferr, that they ought to ſhew the ſame religious Care about preſerving the Purity of Gods Worſhip, which the pious Kings of *Judah* did. But Moreover, ſince thoſe words, being in general Terms, are of a large Extent, and do reach to all ways of Diſcipline in

in General that can be imagined, in all Reaſon they ought to be underſtood, as they have been generally expounded in the Church; and Kings and Princes in theſe latter days cannot have a better Direction in theſe Matters, than the Examples of thoſe Emperours, who lived during the time of the general Councils, and had the Advice of the whole Church concerning their Obligation herein.

And firſt I will begin with the Proceedings of *Conſtantine* the Great, the firſt Chriſtian Emperour, who, to ſhew his Care of the Honour of God, aſſembled the Chriſtian Paſtors to a general Council at *Nice*, of which Council *Soſomen* ſays, *At laſt all the Prieſts decreed, that the Son was of the ſame Subſtance with the Father: and only ſeventeen are ſaid to approve the Opinion of* Arius; *and moſt of them preſently changed their Opinion for the common Faith. And the King judging the Agreement of the Synod to be approved by God, gave his Suffrage for the ſame Opinion, and commanded all to be baniſhed out of their Coaſts, that did go quite contrary to the things defined, as Corruptors of the Divine Decrees.* *Soſom. lib. 1. c. 20.*

And what *Theodosius* the Great, who called and confirmed the second General Council, did in this kind, we learn from the Council of *Carthage*, Can. 96. where the Fathers say, *We ought to desire, that the Law which was set forth by their Father* Theodosius, *of pious Memory, concerning ten Pounds of Gold to be paid by those that did ordain, or were ordained by Hereticks, might be observed; yet against the Possessors of those Houses amongst whom an Assembly of such Persons is found. And that they* [the Sons of *Theodosius*] *would command that Law to be confirmed, and be in Force against those, by whose Lying in wait, those that are turned to the Catholick Church by Testimony were exposed.*

That by such Fear they may refrain from making Schisms, and the Baseness *of Hereticks, that neglect to purge and amend themselves by the Consideration of eternal Punishment.*

St. *Augustine* makes mention of the same Edict, and says, *There are Laws produced, that they should not be suffered to retain those Churches which did not belong to those that are in the Unity of the Church, but were built by Separatists, and those that are in Schism. Neither is any one said to promul-*

August. lib. 1. *cont. Epist. Parmen c.* 11.

promulgate any Law [for the Schiſmaticks] *but* Julian *the Apoſtate, who was diſpleaſed with the Peace and Unity of the Church. But who is ignorant of the Juſtice and Laws of other Emperours, which are very vehement againſt them? Amongſt which there is one general one againſt all thoſe which would be called Chriſtians, and do not communicate with the Catholick Church, but are gathered together in their ſeparate Conventicles; and it contains this, That the Ordainer of a Clergy-man, or he that is ordained, ſhould be puniſhed ten Pound in Gold, and the Place where the wicked Conventicle is aſſembled, ſhould be forfeited to the Kings Exchequer. And there are other general Sanctions by which the Power of making Wills, or Conferring any thing by way of Gift, is taken from them; or of receiving any thing from any Gifts or Teſtaments.*

Theodoſius Junior who ſummoned the third general Council held at *Epheſus*, and confirmed the Decrees thereof, likewiſe does enjoyn great Penalties againſt *Neſtorius* and others, that ſhould offer to contradict the Definition of the Council, and hold ſeparate Aſſemblies of men of their own Faction. His words are, *That due Reverence which*

Edict. Theodoſ. in fine Concilii in Epheſim.

we owe to Religious Worship does require, that those that behave themselves ungodly about Holy things, should be punished with meet Punishments, and called by a Name suitable to their own Wickedness; that being exposed to Reproach, they may suffer Everlasting Punishment for their Sins. We command therefore, That no body should dare to Retain, Read or Transcribe the Wicked Books of the Profane and Sacrilegious Nestorius, *concerning the Holy Worship of the Orthodox Christians, and contrary to the Dogms of the Holy Synod of Bishops held at* Ephesus; *which they ought to search after with all Diligence, and cause them publickly to be burnt: for by this means all Wickedness being cut up by the Roots, the simple Multitude, which is apt easily to be deceived, will not be able to find the Seed of Errours; neither let any mention those lost Men in any Religious Discourse, but by the name of* Socinians. *Neither let any permit them to have any House or Field, or any Place whatsoever, to hold any Assembly Private or Publick. For we Decree, that such Persons ought to be deprived of all Liberty of Conventicles or Assemblies; it being manifest, that whosoever shall transgress this Law, and does imitate* Nestorius, *shall be punished with the Publication of his Goods.*

Another

Another Edict of the ſame *Theodoſius*, in Purſuance of this Law, is to command that this Law may take Effect againſt all the Diſciples of *Neſtorius*. *It is not Lawful for any body to propheſy or teach any other Faith, beſides that expounded at the Council of* Nice *and* Epheſus. *Whoſoever therefore ſhall violate this our Holy Decree, let them not doubt, but that they ſhall incur the ſame Penalty, which is Contained in the Law againſt the wicked Faith of* Neſtorius. *Ibid.*

The Prefect makes another Edict to the ſame purpoſe. *Since our Pious Emperour does very well know, That the Orthodox Religion is the Strength of the Law, and of the Commonwealth; he has taken away all the Seed of Impiety by his Edict; healing all thoſe with moderate Chaſtiſement, that labour under it; ſhewing to all the Way of Living well.* *Ibid.*

The Pious Emperour *Marcianus*, who called the Fourth General Council held at *Chalcedon*, does confirm the Decrees thereof, and Command the Obſervance of them in this manner: *We Confirming the Venerable Synod, by the Sacred Edict of our Serenity, do admoniſh all men to leave off Diſputes concerning Religion; becauſe one or two cannot find* Edictum *Marcian.* in fine Concil. *Chalced.*

out so great Secrets; and the rather, because we ought to believe, that so many Reverend Priests, with so much Labour, and such great Prayers, could not attain to the Truth, but by the Assistance of God. But since there are those, (as we know by evident Reason) who do continue in the same mad Perverseness, and publickly contend about Religion, disputing amongst the People those things, which ought more rightly to be Embraced than Disputed; we ought to restrain those that continue in this Pertinacy, with that Animadversion which was long ago Appointed. That Punishment might correct them, whom the Reverence of the Command cannot amend. ----- We Establish therefore, with the repeated Command of our Clemency, that for the Future all do abstain from those things that are forbidden; neither let any gather Conventicles, or make any Contentions about Religion; because, whosoever shall be found Guilty of such Perverseness and Vanity, he shall suffer the Appointed Penalties, and shall be punished after a Judicial Manner, as becomes Religious Times.

Justinian likewise, who called the Fifth General Council, and confirmed the Decrees thereof, banished those that did not submit to them; and amongst

mongſt other, even *Vigilius* the Pope himſelf. *Liberatus* ſpeaking of this Council, ſayes, *What other things were done by the ſame Prince* [Juſtinian] *ſubſequent to thoſe, to the Biſhops, and in the* Catholick Church, *are to be paſſed over in Silence; how thoſe that conſented to the Condemnation of the* Tria Capitula, *were enriched with Preſents; or how thoſe that did not conſent, being depoſed, were ſent into Baniſhment; or others of them concealing themſelves by Flight, obtained a quiet receſs in ſome private place.* *Liberat. Bren. cap. ult.*

The ſame Religious Emperour, in his *Novels*, does ordain many Laws to the ſame purpoſe; and, *Novel* 131. he makes all the Cannons of the Four General Councils, to become Imperial Laws, and they are in the *Code* and *Novels* now at this day reckoned as part of the Body of the Civil Law: his Words are, *We decree therefore, That the Holy Eccleſiaſtical Cannons which were ſet forth or confirmed by the four Holy Synods, ſhall have the Authority of Laws, that is, thoſe of the* 318 *Fathers met at* Nice, *and thoſe of the* 150 *at* Conſtantinople, *and the firſt of* Epheſus, *in which* Neſtorius *was condemned, & that at* Chalcedon, *in which* Eutychus *with* Neſtorius, *was anethematiz'd; for we receive the Dogms of theſe fore-*

named Synods as the Holy Scriptures; and we obſerve their Cannons, as Laws.

The ſame Emperour *Novel.* 132. after a Preface, declaring how much it is the Duty of Kings and Emperours to provide for the Purity of Religion, and the Peace of the Church, does add, *Since the Hereticks, neither conſidering the Fear of God, neither calling to mind the Puniſhments that are threatned againſt ſuch by the Severity of the Laws, do act by the Inſtigation of the Devil; and deceiving ſome of the ſimple, do privately hold Conventicles and* Baptiſms, *contrary to the Order of the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church: We eſteem it a pious Act, by our Edict to command ſuch, that they withdraw themſelves from this Heretical Madneſs, and that neither through their Deceit they deſtroy the Souls of others, but that they return to the holy Church of God, in which the right Dogms are profeſſed, and all Hereſies with their Leaders are anathematiſed; for we would have all men know, that if any be found leading men to ſeparate Aſſemblies, or joyning with ſuch ſeparate Aſſemblies, we will no longer endure them; but we will ſettle the Houſes in which ſuch Offences ſhall be committed, upon the Church.* But we

we make a Law, that thoſe that gather Conventicles, or joyn with them, ſhall by all means undergo the Penalties of the Laws.

Conſtantine alſo, That Called and Confirmed the Fifth General Council held at *Conſtantinople*, makes this Edict: *There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, and to day, in God, there is one Church; if there be any one then that loves Chriſt, and fears the Lord, and does deſire the Salvation that is hoped for; let him adhere to the Orthodox Faith: for we cannot be ſaved by any other Faith. If any one therefore does favour the Perſons of Men, but does not ſhew his Zeal for the Love of God, and does tranſgreſs our preſent Religious Command; if he be a Biſhop, a Clergy-man, or wears the Habit of a Monk; he ſhall be puniſhed with Depoſition; but if he be a man placed in Dignity, he ſhall undergo the Puniſhment of Publication, and Deprivation of his Girdle; but if he is a Private Man, he ſhall be Condemned to Baniſhment from our Royal City, and ſimply from all our Cities; and above all theſe, he ſhall not eſcape the Puniſhment of the fearful and incorrupt Judgment.* *Edict. Conſtant. pro confir. 6. Synodi.*

I might here add many Cannons of the

the General Councils, and other Councils confirmed by them, which are also made Imperial Laws, severely prohibiting all Schismatical Assemblies, with many other Authorities to the like Purpose from holy Fathers, and pious Kings and Princes in after-Ages. But those who are not moved with these Authorities which I have already brought, will not be perswaded though an Angel came down from Heaven to convince them; I do not pretend here to take upon me to advise the Governours to use the same Severity, or to direct them how to proceed at this present time; they know what they have to do better than I can tell them, and that I did profess against in the Beginning. But since many Atheistical, Heretical, Schismatical, vain and loose Persons do mightily cry up Toleration, and inveigh against all Discipline upon the Account of Religion; I thought fit to shew the Unreasonableness and Vanity of such Discourses.

Vide Decret Gra. caus. 23. q. 4. & Cod. lib. 1.

1. And from what I have said, it does plainly appear, that Kings and Princes are bound to promote the Honour of God, and the Unity of the Church, as much as lies in their Power.

2. That

2. That thoſe pious Princes who had the wiſeſt Advice that could be had upon Earth in religious matters, were taught that men by Diſcipline and Puniſhment, may be brought to the Knowledge of the Truth, and ſuch Conſideration as may convince them that they ought to adhere to the Faith and Communion of the Church.

3. They were taught, that it was ever held unlawful, and a thing not to be permitted by any religious Prince, that there ſhould be any more publick Aſſemblies of Chriſtians than ſuch as were allowed by the Church; and conſequently, Conventicles of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: that diſſent from the publick Worſhip of the Church, were to be condemned and puniſhed; and ſo were all men that withdraw from the publick Service of the Church; and therefore Toleration was by the wiſeſt men ever thought, not only unlawful, but the ready way to Atheiſm and Confuſion.

The

The Concluſion:

With Inducements to a Holy Life, and Frequenting the Publick Prayers of the Church.

TO Conclude all; any one that will impartially conſider what I have ſaid throughout this whole Book, may obſerve, that there has been a conſtant viſible Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith in moſt Kingdoms and Countreys that own the Chriſtian Religion, ever ſince our Saviours Time; neither will that pretended Council of *Ariminum*, any way invalidate this Aſſertion.

Socrat. *lib.* 2. *c.* 37. For Firſt, it was a long time before the Biſhops Aſſembled there, would give any other Anſwer than this, *That they were reſolved to adhere to the Definition of the Council of* Nice; and they wrote twice to that purpoſe to the *Arrian* Emperour.

Secondly, after thoſe few that were left there, had been very hardly uſed, and Impriſoned, and were at length circumvented, ſo far, as to conſent to the Leaving out the word ὁμοούσιον out of

of the Creed; their Adverſaries pretended they agreed in the ſame Faith, and only deſired That Word might be left out, thinking it not neceſſary, becauſe not found in Scripture; yet they did not pretend to define *Arrianiſm*; neither is there any thing in the Creed they ſet out, contrary to the Catholick Faith; or in Confirmation of the *Arrian* Hereſie.

Thirdly, However, as it was, as ſoon as it was underſtood abroad in the World what they had done, the Biſhops, aſſembled together in ſeveral particular Councils, did vehemently condemn what had been conſented to in the Council of *Ariminum*, and did reeſtabliſh the Council of *Nice*. To this purpoſe there was a Council held at *Rome*; (*a*) another at *Illyricum*; (*b*) another at *Antioch*; (*c*) another at *Alexandria*; (*d*) and another in *France*; (*e*) and quickly after, the Second General Council held at *Conſtantinople*, made the *Nicene* Creed part of their own, for they augmented it only. And the next General Council held at *Epheſus*, forbad the making of any other Creed; and ever ſince that time, that Controverſie has been ſo far ended, that it never gave any great Diſturbance to the Church;

a *Theod. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 22. Hil. frag. l. 1.*
b *Theod. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 9.*
c *Soſom. lib. 6. c. 4.*
d *Theod. lib. 4. c. 3.*
e *Hil. frag. lib. 2.*

Church; and now at this time all Christian Churches agree in the same Faith.

2. It will appear, that those Errours and Corruptions that have been established in particular Churches, are not Countenanced by any Law of the Catholick Church, or Definition of any General Council; nor derived down by any Tradition from the Apostles; but most of them plainly repugnant to the Sense of the Primitive Bishops, or else such matters about which they have been wholly silent, or delivered no certain Evidence what the Churches Sense was about them.

3. It is evident that those Stirs and Commotions, that have been made amongst Christians, under pretence of Religion, have been carried on by private Factions, to exalt themselves to an unjust Preheminence over their Brethren, and to promote Wordly Designs, contrary both to the Sense and the Commands of the Church.

4. Therefore the Establishing of Popery or Presbytery, or giving Countenance to those that favour those Innovations, as it has been a great means to cause Divisions and Confusions in the Church; so it is the ready way to perpetuate

petuate Diſſentions in Chriſtendome, and to embroyl both Church and State.

5. If there be any hopes of Peace and Settlement in the Church, it muſt be by obſerving that clear and undoubted Order which has all along been derived down from the Apoſtles, and wherein all Churches have univerſally agreed; and not by ſetting up any private Spirit, whether of the Pope, or *Roman* Church, or of every particular man, to be the meaſure of interpreting the Scripture.

6. All thoſe that ſeriouſly regard Religion, not out of a Worldly Deſign, but as a means to obtain Salvation, may eaſily underſtand their Duty, as far as concerns their own Practice, and will not have the leaſt ground to waver in their Belief, by reaſon of the Differences amongſt Chriſtians; ſince there is ſuch a full Agreement in all points that concern a Holy Life, and the Differences in other Matters are kept up for publick Ends, to which all Good Men will ſcorn to make Religion ſubſervient.

7. 'Tis much to be feared, that Practical Atheiſm is more common in the World, than generally is imagined, and we have reaſon to ſuſpect, that Men

who foment and uphold these Divisions, and spread about scandalous and lying Reports; and also those that do not religiously observe these Rules of a Holy Life, which are so plain and confessed by all Parties, whatsoever they pretend with their Mouths, yet do really say in their Hearts, *There is no God.*

And here give me leave a little to break out into a Lamentation for that Coldness of Devotion, and Neglect of God's Publick Worship, that is too Shameful and Apparent throughout most Christian Churches: as for the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, though they have some Stated Forms of Prayer and Publick Offices, for Administration of Sacraments, Ordinations, *&c.* yet I do not see that they have a General Order of Publick Prayer, fitted for the Devotions of the whole Congregation, nor such a Standing Uniform and daily Liturgy, as is best apt to make a Solemn Service of God. And for the Papists, their publick Liturgy seems to be calculated rather to serve a Design, than for the Service of God; and they call the Congregation together, rather to see others serve God, than to join with them, and make up the Solemnity of the

the Devotion. And I can never enough be astonished when I consider it, that those Men of the Church of *Rome*, that pretend to advance Piety in the World, should so long sit contented under the Slavery of an unintelligible Devotion, and not with unwearied Importunity, press their Governours to have a Publick Liturgy so contrived, that all may bear their parts in it, and be stirred up to a Frequent Attendance upon such a Seasonable Service. But that which is still more amazing, is this, (and I find the same Humour amongst our Protestant Dissenters, as they call themselves at home) that they should so busie themselves to stir up Factions and Dissentions, and rather press for a Toleration, and joyn with known Heretick and Enemies to Christianity, and thereby bring in Debauchery, Atheism, Ignorance and Confusion; than let men be instructed, and live orderly, under the Government of the Church of *England*. Were they acted with a true Zeal for Religion, and had a hearty Affection for Gods Honour and Glory; they would rather joyn with the Church of *England* to prevent other Mischiefs and Disorders, than joyn with her Enemies to further

ther Toleration, and give occasion to all loosness and Impiety, as they do, and secretly rejoyce at the Overthrow of all Discipline and Order amongst us. They must remember it was none of the true Mother that was for Dividing the Child; and therefore God will one day meet with all such Hypocrites that use such wicked Arts to carry on their pretended Designs for Religion. God does not need their wicked Policies to promote his Honour, nor does he allow any one to do Evil that Good may come of it, if the End they aimed at were truly for the Settlement of Peace and Unity. But 'tis plain, it is not any further considered, than as it may serve for their worldly Interests and Designs.

And though we in the Church of *England* have been more happy in the Form and Order of our Publick Service, (and, I think I may truly say, our Liturgy is the best fitted for Publick Devotion of any in the World;) yet there is great reason to complain of want of Devotion, and the great Neglect of Gods Publick Worship amongst Us also; if it were not so, we should not have such thin Congregations at

Prayers, and such a few Communicants at the Lord's Supper as there are. And truly, this Neglect is a thing much to be bewailed, because, by all the Relations that ever I have heard of the Turkish Devotion, they far exceed Christians in the outward Reverence and Care they shew in attending the Service of God; so punctual and exact are they in Observing their times, and so, seemingly at least, Religious in performing their Divine Worship of the one God; and, what is also very remarkable, exceeding diligent in taking notice of, and punishing all Scandalous, Idle Persons amongst them, that have not good reason for absenting themselves from their daily Publick Assemblies. So that, not only for the Honour of God, but also for the Honour of our Religion it self, this Neglect of God's publick Worship in Christendom in general, ought to be taken into consideration by all Pious Christians. And truly, though out of common Humanity, I was moved to expose my self thus to the hatred of Dissenters, and the Censures of all others, who will sit Judges upon what I have written, that I might call in my Endeavours to put a

Stop to these horrid Confusions, and bring Sober Persons to a right Understanding of the Differences, in order to prevent Bloodshed and Desolation. Yet that was not the chief End I propounded to my self in Writing these Considerations; but to remove those Difficulties which are a great hindrance to Devotion; that so there may be a readier way to perswade Christian People to a more frequent and Religious Attending upon the Publick Worship of God. For, that general Neglect which is too apparent in all sorts of men, is a great Sin, much to be lamented, and that ought to be amended. I know all People are not deficient upon the same grounds, but some are faulty upon Dislike of the Prayers; others perhaps do not think the Worship it self is of such Necessity; and a third sort neglect their Duty, out of meer Sloth and Want of Devotion.

And first, those that neglect the Churches Prayers, out of Dislike of the Service it self, are most of our Fanaticks; and thereby they discover their want of true Love to God, which is the ground of their not loving his Church. For had they a due and honourable

nourable ſenſe of the Service they owe to God, they could never upon ſuch ſlight grounds as they do, and indeed no Grounds at all, but meer Fancies, deprive themſelves of the Comfort, and God of the Honour, of their joyning to ſerve him in the Communion of his Church.

One therefore will run away from Gods Publick Service, becauſe the Prieſt that Officiates wears a Surplice.

Another, becauſe the Prayers that are for the Communion are to be read at the Communion Table, and the Prieſt obſerves his Duty herein.

Another, becauſe there are Reſponſes, wherein the People, the better to ſtir up their Affections, are to concur vocally in putting up their Prayers to God Almighty.

Others will keep away, becauſe Devout Chriſtians, to expreſs their Reverence to God, do bow * their Bodies at their Entrance or Departure out of the Church, or at any more Solemn approach to his Service, thereby ſhewing, that they do conſider what Place they are in, and what a Religious Action they are about.

* Pſalm. 95. 6. *O come let us worſhip, and bow down.* Micah 6. 6. *Wherewith ſhall I come before the Lord, and bow my ſelf before the High God?*

Others, becauſe it is a dead, cold Service. But, if it be ſo to them, it is be-

cause they bring dead Hearts, & cold Affections along with them, else the Prayers are as Devout and Holy, and the Order of the Service as apt and natural to stir up Devotion, as any in the World.

Let all Sober men consider then what poor Excuses these will prove, when the dreadful Judge of Heaven and Earth shall call them to an Account for Neglecting his Publick Service, and breaking the Communion of his Church, and disobeying their Governours. Can these appear tolerable Reasons for them to allege? They could not go to serve God, because the Minister did not wear such a Coat as they would have him; or he did not stand in such a place of the Church as they did best like; or, because they were sometimes to say *Amen* aloud, and, *We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord*, or some such pious Ejaculation? And then as for the pretended Coldness of the Devotion, Let the Prayers be compared with those that they call warm Prayers, and both set down in Writing, and the Churches Prayers will be much preferred before them, by all Judicious men; so that all those they call warm and edifying Prayers, are not so from any more Excellency in the Prayers; but the reason

why

why they are more pleased with them, is, onely for the Tone, and Gesture of him that delivers them; and an ordinary Stage-player can move the Fancies of his Auditors after the same manner. But men are not to judge of their Devotion by the present Passion of their Minds, but by the Change of their Hearts, and the Amendment of their Lives. If they are not more humble and meek, more obedient, more charitable, more holy in their Lives and Conversations, and more conscientious in all their Dealings; but continue in Schism and Disobedience, stir up Factions and Seditions, slander their Neighbours, revile their Governours, nourish Pride and Self-conceit, and go about spreading Lyes and false Reports; all their warm and Edifying Prayers, (as they call them) their Tears and Sighs will not be well-pleasing to God; and that is the thing that we must look after, to pray to God in such a manner, and with such words as he will accept. Now, since the Common Prayer is made up of such Confessions, Petitions, and Praises as are agreeable to Gods Word, we have the Promise of him who is Truth it self, that they shall be accepted, if we offer them up with a Devout Mind; and if any are not comforted, and receive no Benefit from these Prayers, 'tis a sign their Hearts are not right towards God, and there-

fore

fore he denies them the Bleſſing of his Spirit. So long then as the Matter is Sound, and the Expreſſion Grave and Significant, the want of a Tone, or Theatrical Geſture, can never excuſe their Abſence from the Churches Publick Devotion. And I have often wondred, why men ſhould pretend that 'tis only a Ceremony or two, or ſome controverted Subſcription, that kept ſo many from Conforming to the Church of *England*, when I ſee ſuch a general Neglect of the Publick Prayers, by reaſon of the Diſlike of them; were their Hearts right in other Matters, the Non-conforming Miniſters would more frequent the Prayers than they do, and would chide their People for not obeying their Governours in ſuch juſt Commands.

A ſecond ſort there are of Perſons that are negligent of publick Prayers, not out of any Diſlike of the Worſhip it ſelf, but either they think it is not a Duty of that Importance, or, at leaſt, not Incumbent upon them. Hence poor ſilly Souls, when they are invited to go to Gods publick Worſhip, will, after a ſlighting manner, ſay, Alas! There is nothing but Prayers; What ſhall they do there, they can Pray at home? Proud Mortals! Nothing but Prayers! nothing but the higheſt Honour a created Being is capable of! What is of more Worth

and

and Dignity, than for ſuch poor Duſt and Aſhes to be admitted into the Court of the King of Heaven, and to preſent their Petitions and Oblations, and to offer up their Thanks and Praiſes, and receive a favourable Audience and Acceptance? Beſides, When it is the Employment of Saints and Angels now in Heaven, and will be our own too, if ever we arrive at that glorious Habitation: can vile Wretches ſo much undervalue that for which they were made here, and about which, all Pious Souls muſt be employed to all Eternity? So that all that talk at that rate, forget themſelves, and do not underſtand what Religion means.

Pſal. 100. *Enter ye into his Courts with Praiſe.*

For, we are to conſider, the Service Creatures pay to God in Prayer, is of two ſorts:

1. A thankful acknowledgment of his Sovereignty, Dominion, and Goodneſs: that we owe all that we have to his Bounty and Favour, as being the Author and Preſerver of our Being. Hence, in all Ages, Countreys, and Religions, they were counted men of greateſt Sanctity and Goodneſs, that were moſt frequent in the Contemplation of the Divine Perfections, and did expreſs their Honour of God, by conſtant Praiſes and higheſt Oblations. So that if there were nothing elſe but this in it, yet publick Prayers, and the joynt concurrence of full Aſſemblies, being the nobleſt in this kind of

or Thanksgiving, and that which was ever esteemed the most acceptable Performance, if other Qualifications did attend it; this Reason alone should move all People, that can possibly have leisure, to run to the publick Prayers and Sacraments, as oft as there is occasion, with the greatest joy and Delight, as being the chief End of their Being, the great work of their Lives, the principal way of expressing their Thankfulness to Almighty God, and that which must be their Employment to all Eternity.

But secondly, an humble Confessing of our Dependence upon God for daily Supplies of Grace, for ever since the Fall and Corruption of our Nature, those common Faculties and Powers that remain in us are not sufficient of themselves, without the continual and Supernatural Assistance of Gods Grace, to overcome the corrupt Passions and Affections that are in us; so that we do not only stand in need of daily Food and Sustenance for our Bodies, but want continual Supplies of Spiritual Grace for our Souls, that we may be able to overcome the Temptations we are to meet withal in the World, and Persevere in our Duty. And although God has promised in our Baptism, when we entered into Covenant with him, that he would give us all things necessary *for Life and Godliness*, yet

2 Pet. 1. 3.

yet it is not absolutely, however careless and negligent we are; but upon this Condition, if we perform our part, and earnestly seek to him and the well-endeavours. Therefore we are not only to offer up our own Prayers in private, but we are to desire the Prayers of others likewise, and especially of the whole Congregation; for many times God will grant our Requests at the Prayers of others, when he will not hear our own only: many times he will grant a thing that is desired by the publick Congregation, which he will not for mens private Prayers. Hence our Saviour Says, *If two of you shall agree on Earth, touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven: for where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.* And 'tis remarkably set down, while *Peter* was kept in Prison, *Prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him*; plainly denoting a more special Privilege belonging to publick Assemblies, and the joynt Prayers of many of Gods Servants; so that for the obtaining of greater Degrees of Grace, more Spiritual Strength, and higher Illuminations and Assurances of God's Love to us, our frequenting God's publick Service, though there be only the Common Prayer, with-

Job 42.8.

Matt. 18.

Acts 12.5.

out

out either Sermon or Exhortation, is a very great means; and they that neglect it at any time, deprive themselves of much Comfort and Benefit, and miss much Grace, and Deliverance from Evils, that otherwise they might have had.

And now, to speak a little to those who neglect Gods publick Service out of mere Sloth and Carelesness. Now all the former Reasons against others, will be of equal Force against them likewise, but further I must add, That though these Principles and Practices that I have been discoursing of throughout this whole Book, are the immediate Grounds and Causes of these Disturbances and Schisms amongst Christians, yet we ought also to look higher into the Provocations that have stirred up Gods Anger against us, and made him suffer such wicked men thus to divide and go about to destroy his Church. He would not deliver up his Church to be thus distracted and oppressed, but that there is also some manifest defect in Practice, as well as Opinion, which he does punish after this severe manner; that we may open our Eyes, and so consider our Errours, as to amend them. The first thing therefore, that all good Christians should do, is to humble themselves before Almighty God under a deep Sense of their own Sins, and the Churches Calamities, in the next place, let them set about reforming the Errours of their own Lives and Practice, and promote (what in them lies) Holiness, and the Service of God, and the constant Exercise of those religious Duties which all sides confess we are bound to observe, and acknowledge they are pleasing to God; and then let them all joyn their

Pray-

Prayers and Endeavours to redress other Miſchiefs which are the immediate Cauſes of Diviſions; and if we proceed in this Method, 'tis to be hoped, that God Almighty's Anger will be appeaſed, and he will hear our Prayers, and quiet all our Diſcords and Contentions.

But 'tis a vain thing to think that any Art or Policy, any pretended Zeal or Declamation alone againſt the wicked Principles and Practices of Papiſts and Fanaticks, can ever ſecure us from Deſtruction. God is angry with our Nation for that ſhameful Neglect and Contempt of his Service, and open Profanation of his Name, which is ſo general and notorious, and till theſe things be redreſſed, I never hope to ſee Peace and Happineſs amongſt us. He does as yet but begin to reaſon with us, and let us ſee, how much he is offended at theſe things, but if we continue in the ſame Neglect of his Commandments, 'tis juſtly to be feared, he will break out into Fury againſt our Nation, and pour down Vengeance upon our Heads.

Did thoſe that pretend to be Friends of the Church of *England* conſcientiouſly perform their Duty, and heartily both in their Lives and by their Authority maintain and promote the Honour of God, all our Adverſaries would never be able to do us any Hurt, but while one, out of Envy, thinking the Church has too much Power, another to enjoy his Luſts, another to revenge himſelf of his Enemies, another out of other private Deſigns, does concur to weaken all Diſcipline in the Nation, and to Atheiſm and Profaneneſs, Hereſie and Schiſm, do abound, we can expect no other but that God ſhould take his Cauſe into his own hand, and avenge himſelf of ſuch a People.

So that we may very well apply wiſe *Achior*'s Saying, to our ſelves at this time, *If there be any Error* Judeth 5. 20, 21.

more in this People, and they sin against their God; let us consider, that this shall be their Ruin. But if there be no Iniquity in our Nation, our Lord will defend us, and our God be for us, and our Enemies shall be a Reproach before all the world. I know there are many pious Souls that mourn in private for Gods Dishonour, and the Calamities of his Church, but publick Sins will bring publick Judgments, unless publick Humiliations be interposed, and publick Assemblies for Gods Worship better frequented; and those who have omitted by their Examples, by their Exhortations, and by their Authority, to encourage this part of the Divine Service, much more those that have gone about to hinder it, and tacitely encourage People to slight the Service it self, will be found Enemies to the Nations Prosperity, and in a high Degree wanting in their Duty to God. For since there was a daily publick Service in the *Jewish* Church, and the Apostles were continually in the Temple praising God, and the Christian Church has daily kept up a publick Service, and 'tis one note of Antichrist that he shall cause the daily Sacrifice to be taken away, that general Command, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Strength, and with all thy Mind*, will oblige all, and the Clergy more principally, that can with Convenience daily, but more especially upon the Lords days and other holy days, with a pure heart, and a devout mind, to attend the publick Prayers of the Church; and that will be the best Defence against our Enemies, and bring down the Blessing of God upon us, and with it Happiness to the Nation.

Exod. 29. 38.
Luk. 24. 53.
Dan. 8.
Luk. 10. 17.

FINIS.